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ABSTRACT

This handbook was produced to address some of the questions raised at a workshop for producers, programmers, performers, researchers, and writers in the field of Canadian children's television. Three main areas are covered. The first section provides an indication of some of the information that research can supply for the improvement of children's programming, and offers some before, during, and after research designs. The second section offers a general description of the growing child with age profiles of children from two to eleven years. The last section shares some of the more important insights into elements of appeal, attention, comprehensibility, and learning which Canadian broadcasters have acquired from their experience with producing children's programming. Not intended to be definitive, this handbook was developed as a selective and descriptive collection of material which may encourage improvements in the creation, production, and evaluation of children's programming. (Author/DAG)

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CHILDREN'S TELEVISION PROGRAMMING:

Some prior considerations and research designs for Canadian broadcasts.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Rosalee Monk

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

This booklet was written for the Children's Broadcast Institute by Janet Solberg of the CRTC Research Branch

1977

IR006030

"Know you what it is to be a child? It is to be something very different from man of today... It is to believe in loveliness, to believe in belief; it is to be so little that the elves can reach to whisper in you ear; it is to turn pumpkins into coaches, and mice into horses, lowness into loftiness, and nothing into something..."

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The Nature of the Medium

We are living in a particularly visual age. Everyday, all day, we are bombarded with pictures; pictures that appear in our newspapers and on advertising billboards, in glossy magazines and full colour prints, in graphs and sketches, on postcards and diagrams - at work, home, school or play. It is not hard to accept that we are entering an historical epoch in which the visual image will overpower the written word.

Certainly the status and presence of television as a visual medium reinforces this impression. A fundamental characteristic of television lies in its capability of manipulating light in order to create an infinite variety of visual images or symbols. Light, intensity, colour and shade are all arranged through electronic means into patterns which (alone or in combination with sound) present meaningful displays.

This capacity to integrate sight and sound differentiates television from the older media of radio, silent film and written communications. By this integration, television appeals both to vision and audition, the most highly developed senses in man and those on which he relies most heavily for gaining information from his environment. In addition, television embodies motion and the human visual system is especially tuned to and held by the perception of motion.

Another important aspect of television relates to its capacity to appear believable at all times. Partly this is due to the sense of immediacy that television brings to the screen through its transmission in real time - an illusion which appears to persist even when the broadcast is delayed through the use of video tape or film. Credibility is also related to the "vividness" of the medium defined in terms of the senses to which it appeals. Television is in a class by itself as an especially vivid medium, different in kind from its predecessors. Added to the immediacy and vividness of television is its capacity for "fidelity" or the high degree to which there is a correspondence between an event

and its reproduction on the screen. The combination of these characteristics in televised presentations lends the medium an intrinsic credibility. The presentation comes across as authentic. We may "know better", but there is still a part of us that gullibly accepts the vivid evidence of our senses.

Yet another feature of television relates to the relative lack of knowledge and sophistication needed to enjoy its content, and, unlike the movies, television requires no admission fees, darkened room or expensive equipment. In the North American economy, the television set is relatively inexpensive and the programming free. Nor does television require any reading ability. As such, its appeal to children is particularly striking; their access is limited only by their ability to switch on the set and process the audio-visual information.

All these factors, television's vividness, its immediacy, its wide availability to the audience regardless of age, education or financial condition, have placed television in a vulnerable position as an object of public concern. The concern is further heightened by television's success and pervasiveness as a mass medium. Statistics reveal that television ownership and accessibility have virtually reached the saturation point in North America.[1]

In 1976, of the seven million homes in Canada, nearly 97 percent were equipped with at least one television set while over 30 percent had two or more. Millions of people daily rearrange their lives to accommodate the picture tube in the living room; telephone conversations are cut short, evenings spent at home, meals especially arranged, bedtimes postponed -- all in order to fit in with a television schedule.

Television has become our major source of national entertainment, but most particularly it has taken over from movies, comic books, babysitters and playmates a large part of the job of entertaining children. While children* are not the largest consumers of television, television is one

* Statistics relating to children refer to young people between the ages of two to eleven years.

of the largest consumers of children's time. The latest Bureau of Broadcast Measurement BBM surveys reveal that Canadian children (from 2-11 years of age) watch television an average of 3.5 hours per day and up to 4.4 hours on Saturdays--in short, an average total of nearly 25 hours per week. To be sure, blanket statements about "average" viewing time for the "average" child tend to simplify our picture of the viewing habits of youth. Age, race, socio-economic status, educational level and intelligence all play a part in determining more specific viewing patterns. However, it is known that ninety-two percent of all Canadian children watch television at least once a day. And during specific time periods, for example, Saturday mornings and just before the daily supper hour, upwards of 50% of Canadian children can be found in front of the television set. The principal finding is clear: television is a major activity for children. In fact, Gerald Lesser[2] has stated that a child born today will have spent more of his life watching television, to the age of 18, than in any other single activity except sleep.

In and of themselves, the characteristics of television, the nature of its transmission, the ubiquity of its presence, the success of its appeal provide reason enough for informed debate and analysis. But there is an additional feature of television that legitimately arouses interest and concern, namely, its educational potential. Whether there is a conscious intention to teach or to learn or whether we think of television as an instructor or mere entertainer does not alter its teaching ability for both children and adults. Of course with children, there is so much more to learn. James Halloran describes the socialization process which suggests why television can be an important influence on a child:[3]

> "The child is born into an ongoing society with common symbols, established patterns of behaviour and recognized positions. It is through others (particularly significant others) that the child learns the elements of his social world. These significant others indicate to the child their attitudes, feelings and expectations. They draw attention to rights and obligations, and every time they do something or use an object they reflect

> values and provide meaning. In addition, by approving and disapproving, giving direct instructions and stressing values and behaviour appropriate to a variety of positions and conditions, they define the individual's world for him".

In view of the number of hours a child spends with television, the credibility he may attribute to it and the vividness and fidelity of its material, television may be the most pervasive "significant other" in the child's life.

The medium, in short, is a powerful force continually at work in the lives of our children. Technology has given us a remarkably potent teacher and society must bear the responsibility for what is being taught on television.

The Children's Broadcast Institute

The Children's Broadcast Institute is a national grouping of concerned organizations and individuals formed to improve the quality and quantity of programming for Canadian children. In October 1975, the Institute hosted a workshop for producers, programmers, performers, researchers and writers in the field of Canadian children's television. The participants took full advantage of this rare opportunity to meet people with similar concerns facing similar problems. During the Workshop, it became evident that the participants lacked knowledge of what each could contribute to improve children's programming. It was an information failure that virtually everyone attending wished to overcome.

Several needs were expressed. For example, broadcasters wanted to find out about simple and economical means to pre-test a programme. Writers wished to learn something about child development in order to make their programs more appealing and comprehensible. Social scientists felt they had some expertise to offer producers and wanted to make their research relevant and accessible to "industry" people. As a result, the Children's Broadcast Institute undertook to issue a handbook on children's programming in an attempt to answer some of the questions raised by concerned people at the Workshop.

The handbook covers three main areas:

1. There is a growing respect by "industry" people for the contribution that established research techniques can make to the improvement of children's programming. If nothing else, it can verify or repudiate the "gut" feelings of creative people in the field. However, for many broadcasters, research represents an added expense to the cost of any program. The amount and quality of the research will depend, therefore, on the financial resources at the command of the specific producer. This handbook provides an indication of some of the information that research can supply and offers some before, during and after research designs.

2. The recognition of a child's social, personal and cognitive development must be at the heart of any good program for children. The handbook therefore offers a general description of the growing child with age profiles of children from two to eleven years.

3. Canadian broadcasters have had a great deal of experience in producing children's programming. This handbook shares some of their more important insights into elements of appeal, attention, comprehensibility and learning. We hope that some of this information will be integrated into a new way of identifying successful children's programming.

A word of caution. This television programming booklet is not a textbook. It is not intended to be a definitive work. What is presented here is a selective and descriptive collection of material which we hope will encourage improvements in the creation, production and evaluation of children's programming.

Lastly, some words of acknowledgement. Several people have had a hand

in the preparation of this booklet. In particular, Michèle Baril of the CRTC was responsible for obtaining information and opinions from Québec producers and writers. In addition, an editorial board of the Children's Broadcast Institute was most helpful in their suggestions for revisions and additions to the handbook. Finally, sincere thanks are due Hermina Harris for her patience and perseverence in the typing of this manuscript.

CHAPTER II THE CONTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH

What are the effects upon children of observing television programs? This question is one which has been posed continually since television became a common fixture in the home. Attempts to answer the question have resulted in the publication of literally hundreds of studies in the past twenty-five years.

In contrast, research in the service of programming (as opposed to research on its effects) has received far less public attention and has traditionally been limited in scope to two main areas of interest. The first and most familiar is the audience survey taken in order to estimate the number of people watching any specified program. This focus on public preference has served as the keystone of our competitive and commercial system. A second research technique utilizes individual diaries in which the viewer is asked to indicate what programs he has enjoyed and how much he has enjoyed them. By assessing the viewer's comments, the researcher is able to gauge audience reaction to a particular program and subsequently inform the producer about the extent of his success or failure.

There is one obvious deficiency in the kind of research described above. Whether one is determining audience size or audience reaction, both these classes of information represent a form of "wisdom after the event." The broadcaster is advised of his achievements or mistakes only after they have been well and truly made.

This no longer need be the case. Ever since the production of "Sesame Street", (a creation of the Children's Television Workshop) the concept of "formative" planning and research offers a practical, workable alternative to traditional ideas about research in the service of programming.

What does formative research mean in application? For children's television, it involves at least five basic activities. First, important objectives and goals for the program are clearly identified. They could

include, of course, the desire for material that is appealing, educational and socially instructive. Second, the material is systematically tested on the target audience during the actual course of the program's production. Third, the testing is carried out in order to evaluate progress towards the achievement of the pre-determined goals. Fourth, the researchers report back regularly to the producers. Fifth, the producers modify or discard material based on continual reports from the research done in the field. It requires, in short, the closest collaboration of creative, educational and research personnel, all of whom must function as inseparable members of a programming team.

Creative people working with outside advisors? Social scientists counselling producers? Admittedly, the call for mutual co-operation seems to challenge conventional lines of authority and modes of operation in the realm of children's programming. Producers feel that it threatens their autonomy. Accustomed to full creative control, they are less than eager to share their authority with those whom they consider to be meddling intruders. Writers and directors fear the stifling of their spontaneity and creativity. For years they have relied on their instincts and feelings and personal experiences. They are less than eager to relinquish their artistic freedom to the rigour and methodology of the social sciences. For their part, station managers and owners worry about filling a schedule and keeping within a budget. They are less than eager to hire expensive consultants who seem to have little respect for production deadlines.

From the research perspective, the implications of formative planning present just as much of a challenge. To be useful in the development of a children's programme, researchers must give up their traditional preoccupation with post hoc evaluation. Deciding how well a program has done after it is over does not contribute to making it better in the first place. Ways must be found to work with producers to improve the programs before broadcasting begins. Other research traditions must also be questioned. Lengthy, meticulous plans, large sample sizes, laboratory conditions, uniform procedures must all be reassessed to see

if they fit into the dynamic, fast-paced atmosphere of television production. Perhaps most importantly, the researcher must resist the temptation to lapse into professional jargon. If there is to be a true collaboration with the producer, the researcher has to be able to communicate his findings, ideas and suggestions in a language that is comprehensible to everyone on the programming team.

There are bound to be difficulties. It would be foolish to ignore or to minimize them. But it would be irresponsible to be deterred by them. If broadcasting is to meet its obligations to children, the formative research and planning must be recognized for the critical contribution it can make towards the qualitative improvement of programming for children. "Sesame Street" has proven that an on-going collaboration between producers and researchers can work. And work well. As Joan Ganz Cooney put it,[4]

> "To the amazement and near disbelief of outside (and some inside) observers, the courtship went smoothly, if not always lovingly, and the marriage has been a howling success."

There is no question that the "Sesame Street" project developed amidst quite unusual circumstances. It was exceedingly well funded: in its first season, it was budgeted at upwards of seven million dollars for production, research and related activities. This level of support made it possible to attract high-level production talent and to make use of expert educational advisors and consultants. In addition, eighteen months were set aside for prebroadcast planning and research. This amount of time made it possible to set high standards of precision, evaluation and revision in both program objectives and production material.

Although it is unlikely that the conditions surrounding "Sesame Street" will ever be duplicated in Canada, the lessons that have been learned about formative planning and research can provide valuable insights and guidelines for further research in the service of children's programming.

The "Sesame Street" Model

There were certain principal activities undertaken in the production of "Sesame Street" that have come to be regarded, in toto, as an operational model for production planning and realization. Like all models, this one should not be construed as if it were a dependable recipe that will assure the success of other like ventures. Instead, the model should be considered relatively flexible, with the intent of encompassing the diverse conditions (and ambitions) surrounding children's broadcasting in Canada.

This section is conceived and offered in the form of guidelines to specific activities. It does not presume to furnish all of the necessary information or identify all of the issues that a planning and production team would need to know. Rather the intent is to convey some ideas, raise some questions and provide some information, all of which can be utilized with flexibility and selectivity. In this way, local planning and production teams can feel free to exercise their own creativity in the development of programs.

A. PLANNING FOR PRODUCTION

..Selecting an audience

To be most effective, a program should be directed towards a fairly specific age range. Once the target audience has been selected, the programming team needs to become aware of many of the developmental requirements, interests and abilities of the children to be served. These aspects are discussed at some length in the following chapter.

..Establishment of goals

As one of the initial steps in the planning process, the operational model calls for a discussion of programming objectives. The participation of all staff in these discussions is of vital importance since they serve to remind advisers of their practical task of constructing goals that can be understood clearly and converted to television programming. By functioning from the outset as a single group working in

unison, every member of the programming team has the opportunity to understand both the meaning and the intent of the goals.

Of course, there may be any number of programming objectives. At this stage, they would probably be stated in broad, general terms. For example, the CTV network program "Kidstuff" (geared to children 8-12 years of age) operated within the following framework of program objectives,[5]

a) to entertain
b) to stimulate imagination and wonder
c) to heighten social awareness
d) to broaden awareness of vocational, social options
e) to teach specific skills
f) to present useful information
g) to encourage an active involvement with television

Similarly, the producers of "CUCUMBER" (an O.E.C.A. production) outlined their programming objectives. This thirty minute show was developed for children between the ages of six and eight years,[6]

a) to encourage active participation by the child in the program
b) to stimulate reading by introducing concepts to pre-school children, and by creating an interest in literature
c) to create an awareness of ecological problems and the inter-dependence of man, animals, water, plant-life etc.

However, for creative television personnel and research advisors, a statement of goals is simply not enough. To be useful to the programming team, the exact meaning and intent of each goal must be clearly and specifically defined.

..Making the goals operational

What does it mean for program to encourage active involvement? What does it mean for a child to be aware of ecology? Although considerable understanding can be reached by constantly pressing the staff to define their programming goals, another way to make goals concrete is to state them as "behavioural objectives" - that is, what a child would actually

be able to do or what behaviour an observer would see, if the programming objective had been achieved. Using the example of viewer involvement, the creator of "CUCUMBER" formulated the goal of participation in this fashion,[7]

> "Children will be encouraged to send in their solutions for ecological problems every week as well as pictures, poems and stories, and will have the opportunity of seeing or hearing their work on the program in the context of a professional production...
>
> Jokes, riddles and stories will be incorporated throughout the program and one segment entitled "Mail Room" will be devoted to letters from the children...
>
> Membership in the (CUCUMBER) club will be granted to children who send in material... We plan to have a CUCUMBER table of books in public and school libraries where the children can physically meet...
>
> Classes will be encouraged to suggest areas of their city that would be suitable for filming and would provide the producers of the program with a rough script. This opportunity gives the children some incentive to study their community and further involves them in the program."

In a more formal statement of behavioral objectives, Edward Palmer[8] suggests the following indicators of viewer involvement,

Activity-Eliciting Potential

A. Potential to elicit motor and psychomotor activity (i.e. physical activity)

   1. verbal behavior (shouting, laughing, discussion)
   2. gross physical acts (beating time, dancing, role playing)
   3. imitation of televised model
   4. following of directions

B. Potential to elicit emotional activity

   1. arousal of feelings
   2. display of attitudes

C. Potential to elicit intellectual activity

1. evaluating relationships
2. predicting behaviour
3. anticipating events
4. imputing motives to characters
5. guessing answers to questions
6. forming new concepts

In much the same way, other familiar programming objectives such as appeal, comprehensibility and memorability can be made operational by reference to viewer behaviour.

The importance of making program goals operational cannot be emphasized enough. Behavioural objectives not only provide invaluable assistance to the creative staff but also serve as a common reference point for program producers and researchers. Essential co-ordination of production and evaluation is thus assured.

..Existing competence of the audience

Because the statement and definition of goals specify the behavioural outcomes which the program hopes to achieve, it may first be necessary to determine what children already know or how they behave in the chosen goal areas. It makes little sense to focus on teaching skills that children have already learned and behaviour that they already exhibit. Thus, as its initial formative research effort, the research staff may be called upon to search through the existing literature and conduct tests of their own in order to determine the range of competence and behaviour of the target audience. The resulting information can indicate to producers and writers the level of instruction and behaviour to aim for and the amount of program time needed in each goal area.

B. DURING PRODUCTION

..Appeal of existing material

Children's television programming operates within a highly competitive and well-filled market. Learning, in advance, about some preferences of the target audience for existing television material can be an immensely valuable head-start in the design of new series.

The research staff of the Children's Television Workshop devised an experiment to measure children's interest by continuously recording whether their eyes were towards or away from the television screen. For young and less articulate children, this can provide a rough but useful index of the relative appeal of program elements.

However, older children are able to express their views about the programs they watch. Asking them to write television reviews (in much the same way as they compose book reports), talking to kids in the classroom, in the schoolyard, in the neighbourhood parks can supply producers with important insights about children's preferences and dislikes.

These evaluations of existing television programs are relatively inexpensive to gather and they provide a useful supplement to the information on public preference gleaned from traditional audience surveys.

..Pilot production

Perhaps one of the most innovative features of the "Sesame Street" model lies in its concept of a pilot production stage. Simply speaking, this means that the initial programming material is judged experimental in nature and mutable in result. Prototype units of films and tapes, scripts and storyboards are all considered open to rigorous preliminary scrutiny, testing and evaluation. When the research studies have been concluded, producers utilize the results to modify the program components tested and to guide the production of subsequent elements.

This probably explains why the creative staff of the Children's Television Workshop decided to develop a magazine format for "Sesame Street". Seminar participants and advisors had urged the use of a variety of production styles to achieve the programming goals adopted. Research had confirmed that pre-schoolers are attentive to fast-paced action and variety in form and content. Thus from a creative point of view, the magazine format was most appropriate, allowing for a mixture of different styles, paces and characters. From the perspective of production, the magazine style meant considerable flexibility, allowing segments

to be dropped, modified or added as the researchers suggested and the producers saw fit.

There are, of course, many children's shows that have opted for a less demanding pace of production and thus a somewhat different format. However, this type of program often ends up relying heavily on the unique capacities of a central character or host - a hazardous venture should the star performer fail.

The programming team may decide on one format rather than on another, may choose one unifying theme rather than several, may depend on one central performer rather than on many. The multiplicity of available approaches only serves to underline the relevance and desirability of a pilot production stage. All that is required is a serious commitment by producers and researchers alike to a process of testing, feedback, evaluation and subsequent production revision.

..Formative research

Formative research is distinguished primarily by its role as an integral part of the creative production process. Its first responsibility is to provide information which producers will find useful in making programming decisions. For example, formative research can ascertain the appeal of a program as a whole, as well as its individual characters and segments; it can determine the comprehensibility of programming material, whether intended points or motives were grasped by the audience; it can shed light on the compatibility of different elements appearing within the same program, identifying features to be emulated, revised or avoided. In short, with televised material on hand, formative research can provide the programming team with a realistic assessment of their efforts and an indication of needed improvements.

This kind of evaluation rests substantially on the collection of two different but complementary sets of data. In the first place, it is important to examine the programs themselves in order to distinguish particular program elements and segments. Second, it is necessary to examine

the reactions of children to these elements either while they are watching or after they have watched the program. With this in mind, several methodologies suggest themselves for the collection of the necessary data.

a) content analysis

The intention of formative research is to encourage production revision based on an evaluation of audience reaction. To this end, the delineation of program elements and segments is a vital prerequisite. Surprisingly, there are few formative research studies that provide a detailed account of the content analyses which they have, of necessity, undertaken. However, a study by Nostbakken et al[9] gives an indication of the kind of sophisticated breakdown that can be done with any programming material. Naturally, the shape and substance of any analysis will vary according to the goals of the research.

Nostbakken and his colleagues were interested in discovering why children watch some shows rather than others. They examined selected programs very carefully in order to pick out distinctive elements that might contribute substantially to a program's appeal. After many screenings, they selected seven major categories: character, music, humour, activity, continuity, introductions and commercials. They then divided the program into segments and described each in terms of characteristics related to one or more of the seven segments. For example, the categories of music, screen activity and continuity had subcategory descriptions as follows:

" I. Music

- Character Music (refers to a musical phrase that is a character theme)
- Cueing Music (refers to music that indicates a change of scene, pace, characters, action)
- Climax Music (refers to music used to create an atmosphere of tension)
- Sound Effects (refers to a special-effect sound created extraneously to supplement screen activity)

II. Screen Activity

- Plot Activity (refers to screen activity directly

related to the plot; the lens of the camera is fixed, and the activity moves before the camera)
- Frame Activity (refers to 'high screen' activity where the camera lens moves across the screen)

III. Continuity

- Verbal Continuity (refers to verbal restatement or reminder of plot)
- Visual Continuity (refers to a visual restatement or reminder of plot)."

All in all, the programs were divided into 264 program elements, each of which was described according to category and subcategory.

Not all content analyses need to be as elaborately constructed as the one noted here. In fact, most studies seem to rely rather more often on a simple description of the content (and sometimes the objectives) of each program segment. This kind of analysis is once again facilitated by the magazine format as each segment can be easily identified and isolated for analytical purposes. For example, a formative research study on the Ontario Educational Communications Authority production "Monkey Bars" analysed one test program as follows:[10]

"Monkey Bars" Test Program Content Analysis

	Objectives	Segment
...3.	Metric Man - to make the point that it requires no special knowledge or skill to convert to the metric system	Metric Man animated cartoon dealing with metrication
...6.	Yoga - to emphasize that in order to be physically fit you don't have to be a super star - all you really need to do is to get out and be active - to encourage kids to try some different athletic activities e.g. yoga	Body Boogie musical number performed by the kids which deals with physical fitness. This introduces a short film essay on an 11 year old girl who enjoys yoga

...8. Describe and Draw - to encourage the development of communication skills - to indicate how important it is to express yourself clearly and to listen carefully	Describe and Draw a game played by the cast and studio audience - two children are given two different objects which they are to describe to their teams who in turn must translate onto their pieces of paper...

b) observation

The formative research team of the Children's Television Workshop initiated a program of child-watching that was systematically applied over several months to the design of the "Sesame Street" series. It was, at that time, a relatively untried method of collecting information pertaining to audience reaction. But its advantages are easy to spot. In the first place, it can be used with children of all ages, regardless of their capacity to read or write or answer questionnaires. Secondly, it is a method that works well with individuals and/or small groups in settings that can be made to appear as comfortable and natural as possible. And lastly, it can range in sophistication from one trained observer recording data on-the-spot to hidden cameras in the wall recording viewing behaviour for later examination. A look at three separate research studies shows the variety of observational techniques which may be employed and gives evidence of the kind of information which can be derived.

In 1974, a research group from the Ontario Educational Communications Authority[11] undertook to evaluate the receptivity, acceptability and appeal of a weekly television program "Monkey Bars". The program was aimed at children of seven to twelve years of age and incorporated a variety of entertaining and educational elements of particular interest to this age group.

The series was based on a musical group of kids called "The Monkey Bars" and a couple of characters named Hassle B. Demille and Dingbat. The kids sang, danced and acted their way through the program with the assistance of Hassle, a "theatrical impressario and junk dealer" who was not very

fond of children and who was determined to put a stop to all their fun. The confrontation between the children, Hassle and Dingbat provided the framework for a number of weekly situations -- each vignette designed to accommodate the educational objectives. The presentation of the various elements was "television variety" with production numbers, audience participation, comedy sketches and over sixty original songs.

The particular 50 minute tape used for the observation sessions consisted of various segments taken from a number of "Monkey Bars" episodes to comprise one composite show. The segments were chosen on the basis of their representative quality and research interest.

The children involved in the study were members of the specified target audience. The children were divided into four viewing groups of 16 children each. A viewing room was set up either in the library or lounge of the school. The environment was informal in character with the 16 children seated on the carpeted floor. The observers sat on an angle facing both the children and the television set in order to observe the children unobtrusively.

An observation sheet was developed to record the trends in viewing behaviour of the 64 children during the program. A series of responses was outlined:

- Attention (A): eyes on set (attentive viewing)
- Close Attention (CA): eyes on set (intense viewing)
- No Attention (NA): eyes not on set
- Motor Response (MR): in relation to something on the set
- Interaction (I): (with another individual) in relation to something on the set
- Smile (S): in relation to something on the set
- Laugh (L): in relation to something on the set

One level of attention plus any other responses (if observed) were recorded for each child for each segment or part thereof. These responses reflected the general trend of reactions for the period of time considered.

The observation sheet is reproduced in part below. To facilitate recording the responses of 4 children by one observer, all possible responses were listed on the observation sheet in an abbreviated form and circled when pertinent. This provided producers with an estimate of the audience's attentiveness and reaction to "Monkey Bars" on a segment-by-segment basis.

OBSERVATION SHEET

SEGMENT	CHILD 1	2	3	4
Metric Man	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L
Yoga	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L
Describe and Draw	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L	CA A NA MR I S L

A somewhat different observational technique was used by Communications ABC Inc.[12] in a study they conducted to determine the appeal of Canadian segments of "Sesame Street" produced by the CBC. Because these segments could only reach their educational objective by attracting and holding the attention of the audience, a method had to be devised which could evaluate each program segment for its ability to hold the interest of children on a moment-to-moment basis and in a setting that simulated the home viewing situation. The technique used by Communications ABC Inc.

was a modification of the "distractor" method first created by Dr. E. L. Palmer in his work for the Children's Television Workshop.

When children watch television, they experience frequent distractions and interruptions. Thus, the research staff of the C.T.W. introduced into the laboratory situation a "distractor" of their own, namely, a slide projector and small screen placed at a 45-degree angle to the television set and adjusted to change slides every eight seconds. A child was seated in a chair three to four feet away from and facing the television but was free to move about within the confines of the room at any time. An observer was present in the same room, keeping a continuous note of when the child was watching the program segments as opposed to looking at anything else, including the distractor. Records were prepared as graphs which the researchers and producers analyzed together, identifying the elements of program content responsible for high and low appeal.

As mentioned previously, the research group of Communications ABC Inc. modified the "distractor" method. They used a two-room laboratory with a one-way-mirror through which trained observers could monitor the visual attention of the child. As a result, no observer was present in the same room as a child. Two television receivers were used, one for the 60-minute "Sesame Street" tape (which included 16 Canadian segments), and a second receiver onto which were flashed the slides at seven-second intervals. Two observers were equipped with a push-button device, linked to an "event-marker" with four different pens, recording on paper the change of each segment, the change of each slide at a seven-second interval, and the change of visual interest noted for two children at the same time. On each occasion that the child's eyes left the screen on which was shown the "Sesame Street" tape, the observer pushed the button until the child's eyes returned to the television set. From this data, it was possible to determine the percentage of interest for each segment and the exact portion of each segment for which the child's eyes were on the television screen. Finally, results were plotted on graphs. In this way, the producers could clearly see what were the high and low points of attention for each segment of the "Sesame Street" tape.

Nostbakken[13] and his group employed yet another technique in order to observe children's responses to television. Children were invited into a small studio, three at a time, to watch an edited tape of selected television shows. The viewing session itself was videotaped, but the room was arranged in such a way that the children were unaware of the taping. After the viewing session, the videotapes were examined in order to study each child's reactions more closely. The major reactions were carefully described, defined and ultimately classified into a system of physical and verbal behaviours relating to different segments and elements of the programming. Quite unexpectedly, this method of observation and analysis revealed a hitherto undiscovered role for television, as a medium which elicits participation and activity on the part of its viewers.

These three studies clearly indicate the potential mine of information that can be had from the careful observation of young viewers. As new techniques of observing children's responses are developed and older methods put to use, creative and production staff may find themselves relying heavily upon the child-watching talents of the research team.

c) questionnaires

As a method of program evaluation, the observation of children can provide the researcher with a measurement of the potential for attention, interest and participation in any given production. However, this technique carried with it certain inherent limitations. Although it can indicate the how and when of viewing reactions, it can never furnish the researcher with the reasons why children have reacted in a certain fashion nor how much they have gained from the program as a whole or from its constituent elements. Some of this missing information can be supplied by the use of questionnaires and interviews.

Questionnaires can vary widely in their format as well as their content. Some researchers prefer to ask questions of the open-ended type; that is, questions which permit responses with a high degree of originality and self-expression. Other researchers, probably because they are interested in quantifying the data, rely on multiple-choice questionnaires in which

a variety of possible answers is offered for selection. Perhaps an example of each type of questionnaire would give the reader an idea of the range of concerns that can be covered and the level of language considered appropriate for young viewers.

In 1974, an evaluation was undertaken of the pilot program for the series "CUCUMBER", produced by the Ontario Educational Communications Authority[14] for children 6-8 years of age. The evaluation began with the showing of the pilot package to a group of children, followed by the administration of an open-ended questionnaire. The following is a sample of the questions asked:

> "Do you know what CUCUMBER stands for?...
>
> Would you like to join the Cucumber Club? Why?...
>
> Do you think anybody on the Cucumber show tried to be funny but was really just being silly?...
>
> Do you remember the movie about the city? What city was it? Who was in that movie?...
>
> There was a song about plurals. What is a plural?... Do you think Moose understood what Martin and Heather told him about plurals? If not, what didn't Moose understand?..."

It is interesting to note that on the basis of what was learned from this questionnaire, two more questionnaires were devised and administered to subsequent viewing groups. This points out the obvious advantage of an open-ended type of questionnaire; namely, that it facilitates the process of revision, should revision seem indicated or necessary.

In a more recent formative research effort, Maurizi and Zuckernick[15] used the multiple-choice format in order to determine the appeal of the O.E.C.A. program "Monkey Bars" and in order to judge the impact of its educational concepts. They developed a detailed questionnaire which was administered to members of the specified target audience, that is, 7-12 year-old children. Immediately after a viewing session, the children were divided into four groups - four children with each observer. In the case of the younger groups, the questions were read aloud by the researcher so as to alleviate any comprehension problems. However, each

child filled out his or her questionnaire without reference to the other children. The questionnaire itself was designed to require as little writing as possible on the children's part and thereby minimized the length of time for completion. The following is a sample of the questions used:

"...I

(3) Would you watch Monkey Bars at home?

Yes_____ No_____

(4) If you were in charge of Monkey Bars when would you put it on TV?

Day_____ Time_____

...II

(5) Which parts of Monkey Bars did you like? Put an X beside parts which you liked. (X as many as you liked.)

_____(1) songs
_____(2) picture frame
_____(3) metric man
_____(8) describe and draw game
_____(9) progress discussion

...III

Choose either a), b) or c) to complete the following sentences. Write the letter in the space provided.

(7) There should have been

a) more songs
b) the same number of songs
c) less songs

_____

(9) The part about the policeman tells us:

a) his job is like Ironside's and Kojak's
b) about his different duties and his training
c) that nobody should be a policeman

_____

(10) The part with the girl doing yoga shows:

a) only girls do yoga
b) you have to be a special person to do yoga
c) anybody can be active and do something like yoga.

_____"

d) interview

In one major respect, the open-ended questionnaire and the interview schedule closely resemble each other. Both types of enquiry permit the respondent a free expression of opinion and reaction in reply to the questions posed. Their main difference lies in the flexibility of the discussion; interviews traditionally follow a fairly fluid agenda, granting the participants a wide latitude to digress, probe or ruminate as they see fit.

In their research into the appeal of the program "Kidstuff", Nostbakken and Nostbakken[16] used the technique of in-depth interviews to amplify and substantiate earlier findings. After having completed a written questionnaire, one boy and one girl from each viewing group were asked to stay behind for an individual interview with the researchers. The interview was informal and conversational in nature but included in-depth questions about the appeal of certain characters and segments. Interviewers loosely followed the running order of the program. Each interview was either recorded on cassette or by notes and was approximately 20 minutes in length. The following is a sample of interview questions:

"1. Did you enjoy the program? Why?....

5. If you wanted to make the program better, what kinds of things would you put in the show?....

8. What were the songs about? Which did you like best?....

12. How can you decorate a T-shirt?....

14. Did you learn anything from the show?...."

Whatever the method used to gather the data, the essence of formative research remains the same; it is, first and foremost, an exercise in humility in which the investigators ask for value judgments from all groups to whom the results of the evaluation will be a matter of concern. But in addition, formative research implies a diffusion of information; as soon as the data is obtained, it is analyzed and reported back to the members of the programming team. The research is, therefore, responsive in at least three ways. First, the investigator must respond to a request for information by the programming team. This must be done within a reasonable length of time so that the team can act upon that information. For its part, the programming team must respond by continually refining its information needs. In this way, the researchers will not waste their time, energy and money collecting unnecessary data. And thirdly, a formative research evaluation is responsive to the audience. The investigator must report all relevant observations and not limit himself to matters that he considered significant in advance.

C. POST PRODUCTION

..Audience surveys

Once broadcasting begins, an important question still remains, namely, are the children watching? For commercial and non-commercial broadcast operations, questions of cost-effectiveness are bound to arise and surveys on the size of the audience are necessary to answer them. Such surveys are common in commercial television and provide a rough estimate of how many viewers are delivered for each dollar invested. In addition, audience measurement can effectively estimate selected portions of the total market, in this case how many children are being reached by the new program offering.

..Summative research

Prior to and during the production period, the need for research is closely related to the development of the program. The work may include co-ordinating inputs and then writing the programming goals, informing production staff of the needs, interests and abilities of the target

population, trying out specific materials as they are produced, and reporting on their effect with small samples of children. A second related need involves assessing the overall impact of the program once it is finally put together and televised. This kind of evaluation is usually referred to as summative research.

There is bound to be some confusion in the minds of both researchers and laymen about the differences between formative and summative research. The main differences lie in the timing and objectives of the research. Formative studies require that audience testing be carried out during the actual course of a program's production so that decisions can be made regarding program design and content. In contrast, summative research is concerned with follow-up testing in order to determine the effect of new practices and decisions after they have been implemented.* But in addition to differences in timing and objectives, formative and summative research maintain a clear distinction in the perspective surrounding each study and the methodological practices that each effort entails. In the formative situation, the main objective is to provide recommendations that appear likely to contribute to the effectiveness of the product or procedure being developed. As this view implies, it may often be necessary to depart from traditional research practices. For example, the programming team may express a preference for working directly with simple information about averages, variations and percentages. These terms may communicate important findings more effectively than complex results involving tests of statistical significance and will often be chosen over those which conform to standard practice for research reports. In another instance, creative producers may find that broad speculative interpretations of empirical results are typically more useful to them than interpretations limited to the more strict implications of the study. The research effort is thereby directed to address itself to <u>these</u> information needs rather than the special theoretical interests of the researcher.

* This may mean, therefore, that in instances where results of the first season's summative research are fed into production decisions for the second season, they take on a formative function. For example, the summative data from "Sesame Street" indicated that the children's knowledge and skills before viewing the programs had been underestimated in some areas and overestimated in others. This was taken into account in programming for the second season.

These examples only serve to distinguish the separate role and place of summative research. This is research undertaken from a very different perspective. Rather than operating within the milieu of creative production design and process, summative research functions within a context of scientific validation, a context which may be familiar to some readers as it entails a perspective and methodology traditionally associated with social science research. In practice, this means that summative research usually assesses the effects of a program, effects which have been hypothesized (or predicted) in advance by members of the programming team. In addition, this means that the research group must be concerned, first, with using methods and statistical procedures that are sufficiently defined so as to be capable of duplication; and second, that they must be concerned with obtaining results that are capable of generalization (to the highest possible degree) across other situations and populations. Both duplication and generalization are fundamental to scientific validation and while research carried out within the formative context can possess these same characteristics, it need not and typically does not.

Because summative research is undertaken to measure the overall impact of a program, comparisons across time and between different groups is intrinsic to the methodology of the research effort. Tests have to be developed, representative groups of children located, and the tests administered before broadcasting begins so that comparisons can later be made after the broadcast period has ended. The research experience of "Sesame Street" provides a clear example of this.

The process of summative research or evaluation began even before "Sesame Street" went on the air. The principal evaluator (from an independent research firm) took an active part in constructing the behavioural goals which later formed the basis of the first year's production. Once the goals had been established, a variety of instruments intended to measure the learning of the viewer was developed. The need for this variety became obvious when the scope of the evaluation was considered. The major strategy was not merely to discover whether viewers learned more than non-viewers. The evaluation was also directed toward discovering which

groups of children seemed to benefit from viewing the show, what characterized those who learned a great deal, how children reacted to various techniques used in the show, and whether the children's reactions seemed to be related to their learning.

Some other considerations also entered the study. It was initially decided that the effects of viewing the show would be examined in two major settings. The first setting involved the child who remained in his own home all day. This was where the greatest evaluation effort was made, because this was the child in greatest need of preschool education. The second setting was the child in a preschool classroom. Many preschool teachers had expressed a need for a variety to teaching approaches and a show such as "Sesame Street" was meant to have special appeal for them. In order to evaluate "Sesame Street" under both these viewing conditions, many classrooms and homes were selected for testing purposes. Some were assigned to watch "Sesame Street", others were asked to refrain. Eventually, both groups were tested and the results compared. Another problem that had to be solved was the choosing of a sample that would be representative of the children whose reactions the creators of "Sesame Street" wanted to study. The major concern in the sampling was that it would permit generalization about the population of children who were of greatest interest to the Children's Television Workshop, namely, preschool disadvantaged children living in inner-city areas in various parts of the United States. However, the creators of "Sesame Street" were also interested in knowing the program's effects on other groups of children since they hoped and intended that the show would be watched by all children, irrespective of age, socio-economic class or cultural background.

For the evaluation of "Sesame Street" to be properly conducted, a large number of variables had to be measured. This meant that a variety of measuring instruments had to be developed. However a general technique of measurement was adopted which involved three basic steps. First, a graphic representation was presented to the child (one or more drawings of objects or events). Then the representation was described to the child ("Here is a bear, here is a bear, and here is a bear"). Finally,

the child was asked to respond, usually by pointing. ("Show me the biggest bear.") This technique was used in various ways, but certain principles were retained. For example, since each picture was described for the child, his response was not dependent upon his own interpretation of the picture (unless this interpretation was itself being studied). Further, since the child was often asked to respond by pointing, his response was not dependent upon his ability to verbalize (unless the goal being assessed demanded verbalization as, for example, naming letters of the alphabet). The test format itself was kept simple, colourful, attractive and interesting so as to reduce anxiety in the children. In this way, it was hoped that their answers would not be blocked by failures to understand what was required of them.

The "Sesame Street" evaluation was a landmark in summative television research. Its innovative and adaptable design, its productive techniques of measurement, its imaginative reasoning and interpretation all helped to spawn an interest in duplicating this kind of research effort (albeit on a more modest scale). Such was certainly the case in Canada.

Several years ago, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation began producing a number of short television segments with distinctly Canadian themes. These segments were to be directed primarily at pre-school audiences and presented as inserts in the "Sesame Street" program. The CBC had several purposes in mind in producing these Canadian segments. In essence, the Corporation wanted to create in the minds of their young, mainly Anglophone audience (a) an increased awareness of and favorable attitude toward French Canadian people and their culture; (b) an increased awareness of the cultural diversity of Canada and a favorable attitude toward the various ethnic groups who are either natives or immigrants to this country; and (c) an increased learning and understanding of French language and speech. On request from the CBC, an experimental study was undertaken by Goldberg, Gorn and Kanungo[17] in order to assess the extent to which these intentions were being served by the CBC produced inserts.

For the purposes of the study, the goals of the inserts were paraphrased

into major questions; (a) do the Canadian inserts in the "Sesame Street" program have any influence on the attitudes of white Anglophone children toward French Canadian, and other ethnic groups in Canada? (b) If the inserts have some influence, what are the directions of these influences? Do these attitudes tend to move in a favorable or unfavorable direction? (c) Do the inserts mean to help French language learning, in fact assist children in increasing their comprehension of French words? In short, are these inserts successful, and how successful, in achieving the objectives for which they were designed?

Procedures similar to those developed by the American researchers were employed in the study. Children from two day-care centres were contacted and used as respondents. The children's ages ranged from 3½ to 5½ years. In each of the two nursery school locations, nine groups with approximately 10-12 children in each, participated in the study. One of the nine groups served as the control. Children in the control condition did not see any of the tapes but were approached by interviewers (one of each child) and were asked questions in order to obtain baselines for comparison with experimental groups. Each of the remaining eight groups was randomly assigned to view one of eight video cassette tapes, each of which included a number of Canadian inserts. Immediately after viewing the tape, each child from these experimental groups was approached by an interviewer who asked the child questions pertaining to the inserts on the tape. For example, in order to measure attitudes toward Oriental and Indian children, the following procedure was used: The child was shown two sets of photos, each mounted on a separate board. One board contained pictures of 4 white boys and girls. The second board contained pictures of 4 Oriental and Indian boys and girls. While being shown these boards, the child was asked the following question: "Here are some boys and girls. I know these kids. I can bring these boys and girls (POINT TO WHITE GROUP) to the nursery school tomorrow, or these boys and girls (POINT TO ORIENTAL/INDIAN GROUP) to the nursery school tomorrow. Is it these boys and girls (POINT) or these boys and girls (POINT) you want me to bring to the nursery school tomorrow?"

For measuring French vocabulary comprehension, the following procedure was used: First the child was asked the following questions - "(a) Which word did you just hear on TV, le nez ou le coude? Was it le nez ou le coude? (b) Which word did you just hear on TV, les doigts ou les pieds? Was it les doigts ou les pieds?" The child was then shown a sheet with photographs of a hand, a foot, a nose, and eyes, and asked the following questions: "(a) Which one of these is le nez? Is this le nez? Show me le nez. Put your finger on the picture that is le nez. (b) Which one of these is les pieds? Is this les pieds? Put your finger on the picture that is les pieds." By asking these simple questions, carefully worded and pre-tested, the research group was able to determine, with some confidence, the effectiveness of the Canadian-produced segments.

A program's chances of survival are only partially determined by its measured effectiveness. All sorts of political, economic and social forces determine which programs are born, survive or die. Compared to the power of these forces, the results of objective evaluations of programs often pale in importance. Nevertheless, summative research can affect a program's chances by indicating how well the program works. Because of this, program planners have tended to view program assessment as punitive. In reality, research can serve a crucial purpose in telling them whether their programs really make a difference.

CHAPTER III CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Most people think that they are experts on the subject of children. After all, they were once children themselves and many of them have children of their own. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a great deal of "conventional wisdom" about children reflected in the opinions and comments of broadcasters. Unfortunately "conventional wisdoms" have a tendency to be self-serving and thus prone to contradiction.

> "Kids don't know anything. They are not discerning."
> "Kids are undersold all the time. They can tell what's real and what's not real anytime."
>
> "You can't talk straight to kids."
> "Our approach is straight, no gimmicks."
>
> "Children will watch anything, good or bad."
> "We've proven that if the worthwhile is presented with imagination, children will choose programs that add on to their experience."

This questionable reliance on "conventional wisdoms" to predict and explain child behaviour lends some of the impetus for preparing this chapter on child development. But there is another reason, much more fundamental. It is the firm belief that children's television programming requires (even demands) not just television expertise but some considerable child expertise as well. While it is not economically possible to program for each and every age group, producers need to know the basic differences that exist between age levels. They need to be aware of a youngster's developmental needs and interests. They must know something about a child's emotional state or physical growth or intellectual perception in order to program appropriately and successfully. It is the purpose of the following sections to provide some of that information.

Some General Principles

Development is a continuous process that begins when life begins. Even though the process underlying growth is extremely complex, human development is known to proceed in accordance with a number of general principles.

1. Almost all human characteristics are the product of a series of interactions between heredity and environment.

Although many aspects of physique and appearance are strongly influenced by genetic factors (for example, sex, eye colour, height and weight), environmental conditions exert strong influences even on characteristics that are primarily genetically determined. For example, the American-born children of Japanese immigrants grow taller and weigh more than their parents or their relatives abroad. Clearly then, environmental factors, especially nutrition and living conditions, affect physique and rate of growth.

Likewise, in most instances of psychological functions, while the exact contribution of hereditary factors may not be known they cannot be discounted. For such characteristics, the relevant questions ought to be: Which of the individual's genetic potentials will be fulfilled in the physical, social and cultural environment in which he develops? What limits to the development of psychological functions are set by the individual's genetic constitution?

2. An individual's characteristics, abilities and developmental changes are the products of two basic, though complex processes: maturation and experience.

The development of physical skills and intellectual abilities depends on both maturation and experience and the interaction between the two. For example, you cannot teach a baby to walk until her neural and muscular apparatus have matured sufficiently. However, once these basic motor skills are acquired, they improve with experience and practice. Walking becomes better coordinated, steps become longer, straighter and more rapid.

Language acquisition and the development of cognitive skills are also outcomes of the interaction between experience and maturation. Babies cannot talk or put words together until they attain a certain level of maturity, regardless of how much teaching they are given. But obviously

the language a child acquires depends on his experience, and his verbal facility is at least partly due to the encouragement and rewards he gets for verbal expression.

Likewise, a child will not acquire certain intellectual skills until she has reached a certain stage in her development. Until the age of six or seven, a child deals mainly with objects and events finding it nearly impossible to comprehend ideas or concepts. For example, before she reaches what Piaget calls the "operational stage" a child has not acquired the concept of conservation - the idea that the quantity of a substance does not change merely because its shape has changed. However, once she has reached the stage of "concrete operations" and has had more experience with the notion of conservation, she can apply it to other qualities; she can understand that length, weight and number all remain constant in spite of certain changes in external appearance.

3. Growth and changes in behaviour are orderly and usually occur in unvarying sequences.

Every child sits before he stands, babbles before he talks, draws a circle before he draws a square. Likewise, certain cognitive activities invariably precede others. The infant's earliest acts are gross, diffuse and undifferentiated involving the whole body or large segments of it. Gradually, however, these are replaced by more refined and precise actions.

4. Development is patterned and continuous, but it is not always smooth and gradual.

There are periods of very rapid physical growth and similar spurts in psychological and cognitive abilities. For example, during the preschool period, a child shows marked increases in vocabulary and motor skills. Similarly, during adolescence the individual's ability to solve logical problems undergoes rapid improvement.

5. There are critical or sensitive periods in the development of certain

body organs and psychological functions.

If the course of normal development is interrupted, permanent deficiencies or malfunctions may result. For example, Erik Erickson, a leading child psychoanalyst and theorist considers the first year of life to be a critical period for the development of trust in others. He suggests that the infant must experience adequate warmth, love and gratification of needs during this time in order to develop a sense of trust and to form satisfactory relationships later in life. Likewise, there seem to be periods of readiness for learning various skills such as writing or swimming. The child who does not learn these things during these periods may have great difficulty learning them later.

6. A child's experiences at one stage of development affect his later development.

In physical terms, this has been known for many years. For example, if an infant suffers severe undernourishment, he may not develop the normal number of brain cells resulting in mental retardation. But social and emotional environments can also cause cognitive and behavioural changes. Dull, unstimulating surroundings appear to produce children deficient in cognitive skills who perform poorly on tests of an intellectual nature. Likewise, emotionally deprived children may manifest unstable personalities later in life.

The six general principles briefly discussed above can be considered fundamental to any understanding of human development. They indicate the almost inexorable process of change and continuity in the lives of individuals. They signify at one and the same time patterns of similarity and possibilities of variation in the growth and development of any child. Most importantly, they remind us that all aspects of development - psychological functions, cognitive abilities, social behaviour and physical growth - interact with and influence one another.

Ages and Stages

Notwithstanding the importance of a broad perspective, many authors have traditionally chosen to distinguish certain aspects and stages of development.

For purposes of simplicity, this handbook will follow their lead. Two quite different but complementary approaches will be adopted. The first approach looks at child development from a prescriptive point of view. It assumes that at various stages of a child's evolution, a certain level of competence, maturation and accomplishment will be present. The method of presentation chosen for this approach will be to outline for two age ranges, developmental tasks, the achievement of which is considered necessary for normal growth and development. The second approach deals with child development in a more descriptive fashion. Using the framework of age profiles, some anecdotes and examples of behaviour are provided in order to convey in a more impressionistic form, the emotional, intellectual and physical state of the child.

Developmental Tasks

Human development is a dynamic process embodying the idea of emerging and expanding capacities which provide progressively greater facility for coping and functioning in society. The concept of developmental tasks is one way of structuring and organizing the myriad of functional prerequisites essential to an individual's growth and continuity.

> "A developmental task is a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of an individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society and difficulty with later tasks."[16]

It seems a useful and logical division to separate the pre-school from the school-age child. Thus two outlines of developmental tasks will be provided - the first covering development from two to five years inclusive, the second looking at the tasks confronting the six to eleven-year-old.

A. the pre-school child

The pre-school child faces some major tasks and expectations as he leaves the preoccupations of babyhood. Physically, his all-consuming interest in bodily functions is expected to subside into mere routine activities. Although his growth somewhat abates from the rapid pace

of infancy, changes in body proportion and the neuro-muscular system will allow for considerable progress in both large and small motor activities. Clumsy grasping and shaky legs are expected to be replaced by manual dexterity and a confident sense of balance. Socially, in the space of a few years, the young child is expected to function as an interactive being, capable of sharing with others, participating as a member of the family and operating within a school environment. Intellectually, his progress will be measured by the improvement of his mental capabilities, organizing tendencies, cognitive processes, language acquisition and verbal facility. The young child will be expected to coordinate language, objects and reasoning in order to arrive at a more integrated system of thinking about himself and the world. Lastly, the preschool child's personality will be expected to develop and mature within the confines and potentials of his biology, culture and unique history of experience. Feelings, motivations, values, goals, ways of perceiving will all be expected to grow and to change as the young child slowly constructs a notion of himself as a discrete individual. In somewhat greater detail, some of the more important developmental tasks facing the pre-school child are outlined below:

1. Developing healthy daily routines:
    a) going to bed and getting needed rest without a struggle
    b) mastering good eating habits by becoming adequate in the use of eating utensils, accepting new flavours and foods and learning the social etiquette of mealtimes.
    c) mastering the basics of toilet training and finding satisfaction in appropriate behaviour as to time, place and ways
    d) becoming increasingly flexible and able to accept changes in routines
2. Developing physical skills appropriate to age:
    a) learning to climb, run, balance, skip, throw, catch - all making use of large muscle systems
    b) developing manual dexterity for dressing, cutting, drawing, fastening zippers and manipulating small objects
    c) becoming more independent and capable in a variety of physical situations

3. Developing as a social being:
    a) becoming a participating member of a family by assuming responsibilities within the family and learning to share the family relationships
    b) learning appropriate behaviour and acquiring social skills in a variety of social situations
    c) developing sympathetic and cooperative ways in order to ensure inclusion in groups and to enjoy the companionship of peers
4. Developing intellectually:
    a) learning to communicate effectively with an increasing number of contacts
    b) expanding vocabulary and the ability to talk about a growing variety of things, feelings, experiences and impressions
    c) increasing attention span, learning to listen and respond intelligently
    d) trying to understand the nature of the physical world, how things work and why, what things are
    e) developing the ability to assess situations as hazardous; learning to handle situations effectively by becoming able to accept or reject assistance
    f) developing the capacity for higher mental processes such as abstraction, planning, reasoning, judging and memorizing
5. Developing in personality:
    a) outgrowing the impulsive, urgent outbursts of infancy
    b) developing healthy emotional expressions for a wide variety of experiences
    c) learning to express feelings, frustrations and needs in imaginative and creative ways
    d) learning to delay satisfaction and gratification
    e) learning to be an autonomous person by becoming increasingly responsible for making decisions and by growing in self-sufficiency
    f) taking initiative in situations especially in new situations

requiring experiments, trials or original achievements

g) internalizing the expectations and demands of his peers, family and cultural group in the development of his conscience

h) beginning to understand the origins of life, how the two sexes differ and who he or she is as a member of his or her sex

B. the school-age child

Compared to the rapid growth of the preschool years and the accelerated growth pace of adolescence the years of middle childhood seem simply a period of consolidation, a matter of marking time until adolescence. In fact, the pre-school child who has taken all that his limited world can offer, must now prepare himself to meet and advance to the larger world of school and community. Thus his developmental tasks will involve both a continuation of previous learnings and an opening up of whole new areas of life. This will mean a process of growth and change of many different kinds. It includes physical increases in height, weight and strength, increased sexual differentiation, increased intellectual powers for learning and problem solving, and vastly expanded social awareness and participation. Each of the developmental tasks can be described in greater detail:

1. Mastering the physical skills appropriate to his age:

a) developing the abilities needed for personal living and hygiene (bathing, dressing, making the bed, cooking and serving food, developing reasonable bed-time)

b) developing abilities for family living (cleaning up after activities, maintaining household equipment)

c) learning to live in accordance with available energy; choosing activities compatible with strength

d) learning the games, sports and various roles in activities appropriate to age (fishing, bike riding, swimming, skating, rowing, climbing a tree, etc.)

e) achievement of control over body by learning physical skills and fine motor activities

2. Learning the basic skills required of school children:
    a) mastering the fundamentals of reading, writing, calculating
    b) extending understanding of cause and effect relationships; mastering the scientific rational approach to solving problems
    c) continued development in ability to reason and to do reflective thinking
    d) developing concepts essential to everyday living; developing meaningful understandings of the use of money
3. Becoming an active, co-operative member of the family:
    a) assuming responsibilities within the household
    b) participating in family discussions, activities, plans and decisions
    c) learning to use and enjoy the full resources and facilities available within the family
    d) becoming more mature in giving and receiving affection, assistance and gifts within the family and the extended family
4. Extending social relationships, awareness and interactions:
    a) increasing in ability to adjust to others
    b) learning co-operative roles with others in many situations
    c) making and keeping close friends; learning to get along with peers
    d) learning balance between self assertion and cooperation
    e) mastering simple conventions, rules, customs, courtesies and standards of family and peers
    f) developing inner moral controls, morality and a sense of values
5. Continuing to handle feelings and impulses for a more mature personality:
    a) growing in ability to tolerate and work through simple frustrations

b) exploring socially acceptable ways of expressing negative feelings effectively

c) becoming able to channel feelings into the ways, times and places appropriate to his culture

d) gaining skill in sharing feelings

6. Coming to terms with sexuality and sexual roles:

a) learning what is expected as appropriate behaviour for boys, girls, men, women

b) practicing sex-related roles

c) clarifying knowledge about sex and reproduction; adjusting to personal body changes of puberty

7. Extending the process of establishing identity and individuality:

a) identifying with age and sex

b) discovering ways of becoming acceptable as a person

c) growing in self-confidence, self-respect, self-control, self-realization

8. Relating to new areas of life:

a) finding interest and meaning in activites, events and ideas outside himself and family

b) discovering satisfactions in the art, drama, music, literature of his culture

c) learning, internalizing and practicing essential morality

d) learning about and accepting the realities of birth and death

Age Profiles

Commentators often react negatively to the idea that a certain age group can be described in general terms. They argue that individual differences are so great and growth patterns so diverse that any delineation of common characteristics for a particular age level is bound to be deceptive and misleading. This is only partly true. Without denying the importance of individual differences, it is still possible to affirm the existence of characteristics common to all growing children whose development, after all, must follow a pattern and direction that is characteristic of the

human species.

Nevertheless, the criticism demands some attention and thus two cautions are in order. First the descriptions of different age levels must be taken only as "ideal types", covering the widest possible range of behaviour that a child might display. No child is expected to conform in every detail. Instead, it is assumed that most children will conform only to a certain extent. Second, chronological age must be seen merely as a convenient reference point. It rarely signals the completion of particular behaviour nor the onset of new behaviour. Thus, deviations are not necessarily bad nor abnormal. In fact, they are bound to occur. In short, the reader is urged to regard these age profiles not so much as a model for behaviour but rather as thumbnail sketches of ages and stages in development.

A. the pre-school child

..two years

Two years of age for most children marks a time when things go more smoothly in nearly every field of behaviour. The two year old is more physically at ease than he was at 18 months. Anything that can be climbed upon or jumped from looks like an inviting and exciting challenge. In fact, physical exuberance is one of the major characteristics of this age period. Small muscle control is also more in evidence. The two year old can hold a glass with one hand, stack blocks and string wooden beads.

He is also surer of his abilities in language. By the age of two, the small child may know between 300 and 1000 words. Not only does he now understand a surprising amount of what is said to him but he can, as a rule, use language with remarkable effectiveness. To be sure, the words often lack the specificity of meaning and separateness they have for adults. "Peter up" may mean "Pick me up" or "Peter is on the chair" or "Peter wants to pick it up" and so on. However, in children of this age, language is very much related to action so that the child's actions

are often a good clue to the meaning of his language. At this age also, children enjoy the rhythm and musical qualities of language as much as its meaning. This is one of the reasons children clamour to hear the same story again and again. Memory is another facet of intellectual ability which shows remarkable gains during this period. Not only does the child learn the names of many objects, he retains them and uses them correctly. He also recalls where he left toys and where food that he enjoys is likely to be kept.

Within the social sphere, the two year old shows mounting evidence that people mean more to him than they did earlier. He likes, on occasion, to please others. Thus, he sometimes puts another person's wishes above his own. Though he cannot as yet share with other children, he at least will sit with them and play beside them for awhile. He may even be willing to find a substitute toy for these other children. This marks a whole new dimension in social relations over those of six months earlier.

The change in behaviour which takes place between two and two-and-a-half years of age can be almost overwhelming. Two-and-a-half is a peak age of disequilibrium, displaying characteristics which often drive adults to distraction.

The child of two-and-a-half is often rigid and inflexible. Everything has to be in its right place; everything has to be done just so, exactly when he wants it. He is also domineering, demanding and negative to others' suggestions. He must make the decisions and give the orders. He must do things for himself no matter how awkward or incapable he may be. This negativism and willfulness reflect his desire to establish a sense of his individuality and independence. Two-and-a-half is also an age of opposite extremes. With no ability to choose between alternatives, the child of this age shuttles back and forth endlessly, trying to include both extremes in his final decision. "I want it - I don't want it." "Get out - Stay in." "I will - I won't." Lastly, a child of two-and-a-half is likely to be extremely persistent; he wants to go on and on and

on with whatever he is doing. But more than that, he wants everything around him to go on just the way it always has been. If he was told a story before naptime yesterday, he will insist on a story before every naptime and usually the same one! Therefore, this is a difficult age to introduce anything new, be it new clothes, new food or new routines.

..three years

Where two-and-a-half seemed to love to resist, three seems to love to conform. By this age, she has given up much of the compulsive ritualization, inflexibility and need to dominate that marked her behaviour six months earlier. Instead, a child of three tends to be in good equilibrium with people and things around her expressing a co-operative, easy-going attitude to life in general.

In the realm of physical activity, the three-year-old still enjoys active play as she did at two. However, her increased ability allows daily routines and play activities to be achieved with minimal difficulty. She now persists for longer periods in such play and prefers much more complex tasks. Whether she is building with blocks, drawing lines, pushing a wagon or riding a tricycle, the three-year-old shows more order, direction and control than she did a year before.

Language ability and interest in language increases tremendously at this age. The elaboration of a three-year-old's vocabulary and her sophisticated grammatical constructions allow her to be entertained and to entertain others by the use of language. She delights in talking to herself as she is playing, eating or engaging in activities with other children, somewhat like an adult's singing or whistling at work. But language play at this age is for much more than amusement. In her constant vocalizing, the child is practicing prononciation, grammar and inflection. She is also beginning to use words as an executive control over her behaviour. Adult verbal commands can now effectively interrupt the child's actions, and words from within are beginning to regulate her own behaviour.

By the time a child is three, people are important to her. She likes to

make and keep friends. She will often willingly give up a toy or privilege in order to stay in the good graces of some other person, something she was incapable of earlier. In short, a three-year-old can be a delightful companion and an interesting group member, pleased with herself and at ease with others.

At three-and-a-half, a tremendous change can occur; a period marked by insecurity, disequilibrium and incoordination. The lack of coordination may be found in all fields of behaviour. Physical incoordination may express itself in stumbling, falling and fear of heights. Language too may be affected by an onset of stuttering.

Along with the physical and verbal difficulties, a three-and-a-half year old may show considerable insecurity in her relations with others. With her friends and family, she may demand exclusive attention, making her an uncertain contributor to any social situation. Her emotional insecurity may also be expressed in other ways, in crying and whining, night terrors and the use of tension outlets such as thumb-sucking and nail-biting.

..four years

Four years is a difficult age for adults to deal with. At this stage of development, almost more than at any other stage, the child seems uncontrollable -- "out of bounds" in every direction.

He appears to be out of bounds in his physical activities. He hits, he kicks, he throws stones. He breaks things, he runs away. Seen from a different angle, all this activity demonstrates not only an improved muscle co-ordination and differentiation but also a new-found security and confidence in his physical abilities. This emerges in the fine motor skills as well. A child of this age shows some competence in drawing -- especially in drawing what he knows or thinks is important.

In interpersonal relations too, he shows much of the same uncontrolled behaviour. He seems to thrive on defiance, rejecting all parental

commands. Even severe punishment may have little effect. Instead, the four-year-old seems overcome by a terrible toughness - swaggering and boasting and swearing to adults and peers alike.

The four-year-old is almost more out of bounds verbally than in any other way. Profanity is rampant. Bathroom words come into common use often accompanied by wild laughter and endless repetition. His imagination too seems to have no reasonable limits. He suffers from terrible fears - of things and people and animals that never frightened him before. And he makes up stories - tall tales and alibis that skirt the line between fact and fiction; stories that he may even come to believe in as real and truthful.

By four-and-a-half, the young child is beginning to move away from his "out-of-bounds" behaviour. Children of this age are improving their control and perfecting their skills in many ways. Their play is less wild; their manual dexterity markedly improved. They also begin to show interest in letters and numbers and may count quite well.

This is the time, too, when question-asking predominates. "Why is the grass green, the sun yellow, the sky blue?" "Why are caterpillars fuzzy, moths attracted to light, turtles so slow?" These questions demonstrate a marvellous new verbal facility. But adults must be careful not to equate verbal facility with intellectual understanding. A child of four or four-and-a-half is quite incapable of comprehending the intricate detail and complex relationships that answers to these questions entail. It is also important to keep in mind the <u>real</u> intent of a question. Often this age group will ask a question in order to gain and hold an adult's attention. The conversation that ensues may appear terribly convoluted as each thought in the child's mind seems to trigger off another verbal barrage. Or the child asks questions in the hope that he will be asked for his opinion. ("The grass is green so that caterpillars can hide in it.") This allows him to share the wealth of material and experience he has amassed in the space of two short years.

This is the age, too, when the child is trying to sort out what is real from what is make-believe. He does not get so lost in his pretending as he did at three-and-a-half and four years, when he really was a baker or monster or superman. He can get quite confused as he tries to straighten out what he pretends, what happens on TV and what is real.

Lastly, the four-and-a-half year shows considerable consolidation of his social gains. Internal control over his own behaviour is relatively advanced and he shows a good balance between independence and sociability. He is more self-reliant than ever before but at the same time, enjoys playing with other children and making friends with boys and girls in the neighbourhood.

..five years

Five years of age marks, in many children, the completion of the early childhood period. Physical control and co-ordination are quite advanced. For example, the child can, in nearly all situations, clothe, eat and toilet herself. And in her movements she shows a grace that is a pleasure to watch. Her new physical co-ordination allows her to ride a two-wheeler, to skate, swim and dance with ease. Her manual dexterity is less advanced but she can use tools and accessories with some facility. All this hand manipulation activity subtly prepares her for drawing and writing in the classroom.

In other domains, the five-year-old shows that she is moving towards the self-direction and control required of the school-age child. She is able to be away from home for parts of the day managing herself in the absence of parental guidance. She persists longer at tasks and works until completion of a project. She understands better the notions of time and space and can talk meaningfully in those terms. And in many ways, she seems more painstaking; more careful, persevering and accurate than she was a year earlier.

Also at this age, the child is becoming quite practical in her orientation and wants to know what things are for and what you do with them.

Thus her questions are less rhetorical and more to the point. Parents find them easier and more interesting to answer. Another indication of this changing orientation is revealed by a growing disinterest in fairy-tale fantasy. Her preferences in stories and books and television programs are moving towards realism and comedy and away from fantasy and magic.

In her social behaviour, the five-year-old is so self-sufficient that she might easily be taken for a miniature adult. She chooses her own friends, activities and TV programs and is relatively undemanding of parental time and attention. She likes to do things for people, to obey their commands, to take their instructions, to get their permission. And because she usually tries only that which she can accomplish, she is satisfied with herself and others are satisfied with her.

B. the middle years (6-8)

..six years

Five years of age is an enjoyable age for everybody while it lasts. But a growing child needs to branch out, to test himself in expanding situations. Unfortunately, in branching out, he often thrusts into areas which cause a good deal of difficulty for all concerned. Thus, enjoyable five gives way to tumultuous six.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the six-year-old child is high activity. He is in constant motion, jiggling, squirming, wiggling, shoving and pushing. His play is roughhouse and boisterous, fiercely competitive and full of verbal aggression. "You stink" or "You look funny" or "You're a cheater" are frequently heard insults in a group of six-year-olds.

Actually, six can be rather delightful in his vigour, in his energy, in his readiness to try almost anything. But this too can produce conflict and frustration. For he wants all of everything. And he wants all of everything -- at once. Thus he feels cheated if a sibling receives a

present and he doesn't. Or he'll find it impossible to choose between alternatives because he wants both. Or he'll get furious if an adult does not drop everything and do his immediate bidding, without any recognition that they may be involved in some other more important activity.

In short, the six-year-old wants to be the centre of his world; to get the most, to come first, to be loved best, to win at every game, always to be right beyond criticism, blame or punishment. He is as rigid in his relations and demands as he was earlier at two-and-a-half. Things have to be done his way. Others have to give in to him. If all goes well, he can be warm, enthusiastic, eager and charming. But if things go badly, tears, accusations and tantrums follow.

For this is the age, too, when the child is highly emotional. And in his emotions, he functions at extremes. He loves, he hates; he's a friend, he's an enemy; he likes, he detests - all in the space of a few minutes. This kind of behaviour is particularly evident in his relations with his mother. Father is, if not the preferred parent at this stage, at least the one towards whom the child shows the more consistently positive attitude. Six-year-olds like to go places and do things with their fathers.

With respect to peers, a child of this age often pairs up and has best friends with whom he spends a good deal of time. Friendships are rather erratic, and the pairs may change often in the course of a year. There is also a lot of tattling and putting-down of other children as each six-year-old tries to grab the centre of attention and the top position. While boys and girls occasionally play together at this age, the movement towards friends of the same sex has already begun.

The six-year-old is not yet a fully adapted school being and absences may be frequent. In addition, even though a child of six likes to do school work, he works best in spurts and does not yet show any persistence. Nonetheless, six-year-olds learn a good deal, particularly in the areas of reading and arithmetic. They like to bring home evidence

of their school work and highly value parental praise of their achievements.

..seven years

Children need time to digest and integrate the new experiences with which they have been bombarded. Seven years seems to be the age when this process of assimilation occurs. This is seen in the relative quietness, reflectiveness and seriousness of seven-year-old children in contrast to their behaviour at age six.

In part, this reflectiveness is attributable to the consolidation of their reasoning abilities. By the age of seven, children are beginning to reason in their heads and to acquire new abilities in the classification of and relationship between bits of information. They can now perform mentally the trial and error activities which previously they had to perform concretely. The scene of action has shifted from the external environment to the internal environment of the mind.

This quiet attentiveness pays off handsomely in school life. The seven-year-old has lost her over-confident optimism in being able to do everything well and now begins to grasp the role of the teacher as a guide and model for learning rather than a mere stimulant to action. She is a serious student, careful and persistent in her work habits and concerned about the success of her performance.

The relatively subdued quality of the seven-year-old has very positive consequences in interpersonal relations as well. She is no longer the scourge of social situations that she was at the age of six. Now she can listen instead of trying to do all the talking and shows a politeness and consideration towards others that was seldom to be observed only a year earlier.

However, the increased inwardness of a child this age carries with it an increased sense of self. She likes to be alone. She wants her own room to which she can retreat and protect her own things. She likes to

watch, to listen, to stay on the periphery of any scene. There is also an heightened sensitivity to the reactions of others. Thus, a seven-year-old may complain that people are against her, that they are picking on her, that they don't like her. These concerns are often abetted by experiences at school, where for the first time, she is systematically evaluated against her peers. Even her own parents' affection may be suspect. Though only a few seven-year-olds go so far as to figure that they are adopted, this fantasy typifies their over-sensitivity to the attitudes and actions of others.

..eight years

Where seven withdrew from the world, taking time to consolidate his gains and integrate his varied experiences, eight goes out to meet the world, trying out new things, making new friends, seeking new experiences with a mood and style that is active and expansive.

He has an enormous curiosity. He has figured out that there is much to know in the world and has tasted the pleasure of discovery. He fills his pockets and room with any number of different things that he has bought, bartered or bargained for. His curiousity extends to people as well. This interest is shown in his attentiveness to adult discussions and his eagerness to attend adult gatherings. At this age, he also begins to inquire about people from foreign lands and from ages past revealing a new orientation that extends beyond the boundaries of his immediate time and space experiences.

He is, moreover, as curious about himself as he is about other people and things. Thus he constantly tries himself out on other children and adults noting their reactions to his ideas and behaviour. Another way in which the eight-year-old seeks to discover himself is through dramatic role-play of characters he has read about or seen. Coupled with these attempts at self-discovery is an increased self-consciousness and sensitivity. A child at this age is beginning to recognize differences in clothing, appearance and material possessions, things which begin to count in his self-evaluation and affect his self-concept.

Socially, the eight-year-old's interest in adult groups is more than matched by a positive enjoyment in peer relationships. Friendships between children of this age are close and lasting, involving not only shared activities but a genuine interest in personality characteristics. This is the age, too, when a noticeable separation between the sexes occurs. Boys and girls begin to engage in group games that exclude each other. In addition, they may shout at, tease and chase each other revealing a combination of attraction and hostility that re-emerges in early adolescence.

The presence of good friends makes attendance at school an enjoyable experience for the eight-year-old. It is certainly not a result of his school performance since children of this age are mercilessly self-critical and judgmental. They are often filled with self-disparagement and need protection both from trying to do too much and from excessive self-criticism when they meet with failure.

C. the pre-adolescent (9-11)

..nine years

Many of the characteristics of the eight-year-old are carried over into nine, albeit with an increase in maturity and a refinement of behaviour. For example, the nine-year-old can now appraise herself and others quite dispassionately, without the anxiety, guilt and unreasonable expectations that marked her earlier behaviour. Likewise, she shows considerable curiosity without being as easily distracted by external events as she was a year earlier. The nine-year-old is able to become intensely involved in particular activities of her own choosing. She may become so absorbed that she forgets her daily routines. However, if she is forced to interrupt her work, she comes back to it on her own.

Thus the sense of continuous adventure and exuberance of the eight-year-old is replaced by a mood of calm, steadfastness and inner-direction. The nine-year-old lives more within herself. She is more self-controlled, self-contained and self-sufficient. Nine can be and often insists on

being extremely independent. She is much less demanding of parental attention. The intense period of testing out adult reactions is over and gives place in the nine-year-old to self-motivated absorption in whatever interests her. She may organize and budget her time carefully in order to accomodate many activities. She wants and needs to have her maturity, independence and separateness respected.

The close friendships with peers which began at age eight are continued and strengthened at age nine. But friendships tend to be strictly between youngsters of the same sex and there is much overt verbal hostility between boys and girls. Organized sports and clubs become popular at this age, again commonly segregated on sexual lines. The nine-year-old's increased awareness of sex and sex appropriate behaviours may also manifest itself around issues of clothing or appearance. Girls may show a new interest in their wardrobe and hairstyle while, in sharp contrast, boys show nothing but disdain for their personal appearance.

By the age of nine, the mechanics of reading and arithmetic have been mastered. The skills learned in school assume practical purposes outside the classroom. The nine-year-old may now read books solely for enjoyment and may use her knowledge of arithmetic for purchases at the store. The value of these skills in every day life enhances their significance for a child and may contribute substantially to further interest in learning.

..ten years

Ten is one of the nicest ages in a child's development, both for him and his parents. By this stage in his life, ten-year-old has had extensive experience in the home, school and community. He is a seasoned traveller in these domains and takes pride in his ability to adapt to and perform appropriately in a variety of situations. He has mastered the trials of childhood and still awaits the conflicts of adolescence. Thus he is at peace with himself and his world.

He is less prone to critical self-examination. A child of this age likes

his looks and his body, he likes what he can do in the way of sports and what he can do academically. His own self-acceptance is heightened by the acceptance accorded him by peers, by family and by the school. In fact, his relations within his social world are at an all-time high.

Perhaps because he is surer of his independence, the ten-year-old now finds that he really likes his family. He enjoys doing things with them and does not resent spending time with them rather than with his friends. Both boys and girls of this age go out of their way to be helpful and obedient towards their parents. They are spontaneous in their show of affection and concern. Ask a ten-year-old what he loves best of anything in the world and he will tell you "my mother and father, of course."

Outside the home, interpersonal relations are equally good. The ten-year-old likes and enjoys his friends though sex differences in friendship patterns become even more pronounced. The sex-based separation is reinforced by the formation of organized group activities so preferred by children of this age. A child of ten will enthusiastically participate in all sorts of clubs from Boy Scouts to minor league hockey. Indeed, ten-year-olds will often form groups of their own complete with clubhouse, secret codes, exclusive memberships, passwords and insignia. Children of ten also enjoy books, especially adventure and mystery stories with plenty of excitement and suspense. Although they are quite capable of reading on their own, they are still at an age where they appreciate and enjoy being read to by parents and teachers.

The good adjustment of the ten-year-old can also be seen in his school behaviour. Although he may lack the singlemindedness of age nine, he responsibly completes his assignments on time. He gets along well with his teachers and respects their authority and knowledge. Within the school setting, the ten-year-old prefers to memorize facts, names and dates rather than to learn about causes and explanations. Perhaps this is a necessary preparation for the attempts at integration that will come later.

..eleven years

Age ten represented a kind of plateau between childhood and adolescence. The age of eleven heralds a new period of accelerated growth and conflict.

The growth thrust is revealed in several ways. Perhaps most obvious is the marked increase in activity. The eleven-year-old cannot keep still. In this respect, as in many others, she reminds us of her earlier years. Perhaps because of her tremendous energy, she is often noisy, boorish and rude. She shouts loudly at friends in the store. She pushes them on the bus. On her bicycle or skates she is aggressive and oblivious to danger. Above all, she is defiant.

She quarrels frequently with her parents, highly critical of their feelings yet unwilling to admit her own. She is emotional, subject to outbursts of rage and moodiness. Gone is the self-control of the ten-year-old and with it, much of the patience of her elders.

The behaviour and attitudes of the eleven-year-old are as unpopular with her teachers as they are with her parents. Many children of this age find it difficult to get along in the school setting. Their high energy level and critical perspective make it almost impossible for them to sit still, concentrate on academic matters or complete assignments. School is enjoyed mainly for its social function. Left alone, most children of eleven would much prefer to spend their hours in school gossiping with their friends.

As she matures, the eleven-year-old searches for self-definition. Such definition can only come through interaction with others. Unfortunately at this age, interaction with adults is often synonymous with confrontation. The eleven-year-old needs to be noticed and can not tolerate indifference. Even a negative reaction is better than no reaction. Because of her propensity for activity and carelessness, defiance and boorishness, the eleven-year-old is often yelled at and disciplined. This often results in renewed doubts and sensitivity.

In contrast, her relation with friends remain largely unruffled. And through these friendships, the same process of self-definition continues. The strength of her group identification increases. Since peer ties are marked by growing loyalty and solidarity, group life places its imprint on the personality of the child.

Relations between boys and girls are also beginning to change. Eleven-year-olds may now admit that they are interested in the opposite sex. They often joke or tease or show-off in front of each other in a primitive effort to gain attention and express their positive interest. This is, in its own way, efficient preparation for the developmental tasks of puberty and adolescence, though awareness of this impending new status brings with it a volatile combination of hopes, expectations, anxieties and fears.

This concludes the two sections on developmental tasks and age profiles. It is important to re-emphasize that the age profiles ought to be considered only as "ideal types". That is to say, no single child is expected to conform nor will he ever conform in every detail to the pictures outlined above. Instead, these descriptions have been included in order to give some general impressions about each age group and to acquaint the reader with some of the dynamic processes of growth as they occur in children. It is hoped that people concerned with and about television for children will find this material useful and will be able to apply it in the development of programs.

Perhaps several short examples would serve to illustrate.

1. Let us say that we have decided to create a program for pre-school-age children. Because of their particular interests and needs and characteristics, several programming ideas would seem to be indicated.

    a) Children of this age need to acquire language skills and verbal facility. Fortunately, pre-school-age children have an intense interest in and willingness to use language. Thus story-telling would seem to be one program possibility. Although plot, character, props and narration would have

to be kept simple, new words could be easily introduced that would stretch the child's vocabulary.

b) Pre-schoolers love motion and movement. Up to about the age of six, their vigorous physical activity is one of the outstanding features of the age period. But young children not only like to move, they need to move. They need to develop physical skills and fine motor dexterity. Thus dancing might prove to be both a useful and an appealing program element. With a change of pace or a variety of instrumentation, the child can let his imagination roam. He can develop his sense of balance and body co-ordination in an individual rendering of rhythm, motion and melody.

2. A program for <u>older</u> children has always posed more of a challenge because of the competition from "family entertainment" shows. But again, knowing something about older children can give some clues about the content, characterization and format of programming for this age group.

a) Children of middle and late childhood are hungry for factual information. They have an enormous curiosity about the world, people and themselves. At the same time, it is important for them to develop an orientation and perspective that extends beyond their immediate time and space experiences. This suggests several program ideas. For example, a science or nature show could open up for the child a whole new realm of exploration in his physical universe. Likewise, a daily or weekly news program specially edited for this age group, could provide the child with much-valued information about his contemporary world.

b) Most older children seek out and enjoy an active social life. Friends are important to them. Together they can share activities, form clubs, organize groups. At the same time, by extending their social relationships and interactions, children of this age are learning to co-operate, to get along, to master simple rules and conventions so necessary for the smooth functioning of group life.

This may be the time, then, when a television club would be a successful programming idea. It could involve the children in direct participation by asking them to contribute material such as jokes or skits and by inviting them to appear on the show. In this way, the viewer would get a feeling of membership with others and gain immense satisfaction from something accepted for the program.

c) School-age children need to begin establishing and confirming their roles as members of a family, as friends and peers, as persons with sexual differences. They need to learn what is expected and considered appropriate behaviour commensurate with these roles. At the same time, this is the age when children enjoy role-playing, mimicking the gestures and behaviour and verbal comments of persons they have seen or heard. This would seem to suggest that programs with differentiated, well-drawn and clearly defined characters might prove popular with school-age viewers. By watching the players interact on the screen in a predictable but interesting manner, the child can easily imitate the television personalities while at the same time learn appropriate roles and reactions under many different circumstances. Adventure series that take place in everyday settings, comedy shows that involve ongoing social situations, magazine/variety programs with familiar hosts can all provide models for age, sex and social roles.

The five brief examples given above do not do justice to the almost endless variety of program ideas suggested by a careful and thoughtful scrutiny of the child development material. They are intended only to direct attention to considerations essential in the planning of children's programming. It is clear that with imagination and attention to clear objectives, television specialists and early childhood educators have open to them an enormous range of possibilities for programming effectively to children.

CHAPTER IV THE STATE OF THE ART

Lists of procedures, techniques of evaluation, child psychology: none of these things by themselves create television programs. At most, they contribute to their improvement. Creative people make television programs, building upon their observations of children and following their instincts and intuitions.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the history and development of children's television at Radio-Canada. Robert Roy, director of the Children's Service explains,[18]

> "It is fortunate that those in the (broadcasting) business back in 1952 decided to give a great deal of importance to children's television. The people responsible for programming at that time had nothing to build on and starting from scratch created television that was truly a "show-box, a box of tricks". It was considered important to entertain the child, to create avenues for his fulfillment and his enrichment. Considerations about research for children's programming came much later. Happily, the small screen had already attracted and won over its audience."

Knowing that they need to catch, focus and sustain a child's attention, producers and writers have developed many different production approaches. Maurice Falardeau, a producer for Radio-Canada, has been involved in children's programming for nearly twenty years. Here he discusses his special approach to children and television.[19]

> "Programs have to be based on a broadcaster's love for children so that they can be shown a world more beautiful to see and to hear. Society leaves no place for the exercise of imagination so children's programs must stimulate their creative imagination by seeking and discovering wonder, marvels and fantasy. On his return from a day spent at school surrounded by a didactic reality, the child needs to be shown a world of beauty, of fantasy and of imagination."

However, not all productions show such prior concern and consideration Many have earned the wrath of their colleagues.[20]

> "Numerous commercial television programs display what seems to be, each time you see it, the ultimate in condescension towards children. Take a locally syndicated Bozo the Clown's treatment of birthdays--special occasions full of important personal meanings for most children. A group of roughly fifty children is assembled and seated in a grandstand, each with a funny hat propped on his head, each having a worked-up, frenzied good time. Bozo is introduced by a ringmaster with a "funny" German accent who tells the children that Bozo is "flown in at great expense, straight from the Klingenstein Pavilion." (The pavilion is a hospital in New York City.) One of the most repellent habits of adults on children's shows is to needle and amuse each other totally oblivious to the presence and understanding of the children in the studio or in the viewing audience. Children do not count. They simply are props, and since adults are not likely to be watching Bozo the Clown, the adult performers can get away with anything for their own pathetic amusement."

Other approaches have failed to satisfy the viewing audience.[21]

> "Why does a program like "Fantastica" which was designed with beautiful puppetry and a well-known star as host, only last one season? I suspect that research would show that the audience was never involved with the show. Tom Kneebone's hosting seemed unconvincing and patronizing and the themes of the puppetry were often far from the concerns of a North American child audience."

Criticisms such as these are not new to the children's television industry. They are merely two expressions of what has been, for many years, a deep dissatisfaction with television production for children. Unfortunately, these comments, as valid as they may be, tend to overshadow and obscure the many good things happening in the field of children's programming, and especially programming produced in Canada. This country has become a world leader in the quality and quantity of its television production for children.

Many years of experimentation and application on Canadian stations have led to an ability to make certain generalizations about children's television. Some of these judgments and some of these ideas have found their

way into print. Various reports and books provide the interested reader with examples of programs that have proven to be informative, imaginative, entertaining and able to compete successfully with many of the routine and shallow American re-runs, cleverly marketed into our homes. However, it is also true that a good many program ideas and production approaches remain unheralded, largely unknown and drastically under-used. The following statements represent a sincere (if necessarily limited) attempt to synthesize, and share with the reader, information that has been gleamed from research, observation, evaluation and experience. The ordering of the list in no way implies a hierarchy of importance. Rather, it is recommended that the reader regard the statements as a compendium of prior considerations and program suggestions - to be mulled over, revised, implemented, discarded, or modified as local resources of money, time and personnel dictate.

Some Programming Considerations

1. Whatever the absolute degree of human plasticity, learning is so rapid during the early years that before a child reaches age five, roughly as much intellectual growth has taken place as will occur in the next thirteen years.

This suggests that the earlier we reach children with programs designed to accelerate their development, the better. Development to one level facilitates development to the next. For instance, the earlier a child learns an elementary set of symbolic skills (e.g. recognizing numbers and learning to count), the earlier he can use them to build more advanced skills (e.g. learning to add, subtract, classify, order).

Not everyone is convinced of the value of using television to teach simple symbolic skills. Some people believe that children learn these skills soon enough in school and that teaching them earlier only leads to frustration and boredom in the classroom. Others object to the arrogance of small groups of adults prescribing what the younger members of the society must learn. They believe that children will never learn to guide their own behaviour if such choices are made for them.

These good arguments must be balanced against an equally good one in favour of the early learning of skills: the value of an older person recognizing and admiring the real accomplishments of a young person. Learning is acknowledged currency in our society. The more a child learns, the better he begins to feel about himself, and the more he regards himself as capable of further learning. When based on real accomplishment, that is, achievement that has meaning in the culture, this sense of personal competence can become a source of continuing self-esteem.

2. No single television program can be expected to produce a substantial effect by itself. However, it will have some effect, especially if the experiences it creates are tied to other aspects of the child's life.

The thought expressed in the statement above carries with it several important directives. To begin with, it cautions us to place a child's relationship with television in proper perspective. Children are simply too complex, and the influences upon them too diverse, to expect that a single influence -- like television -- will have a uniform effect upon their lives. What a child receives from television is merely one aspect of a complex matrix of simultaneous experiences involving interaction with peers, siblings, parents, teachers and acquaintances.

However, this is not to suggest that television programs have no effect. Anything that is so easily available and so frequently used is bound to have some effect. Thus a second directive is implied, namely that television strive to avoid damaging any child. Richard H. Granger, a Yale professor of clinical pediatrics applied to television the basic principle of medical practice: "First do no harm!" That television do no harm is little enough to ask.

A third directive from the statement above relates to the content of programming designed for children. Vanessa Solioz, a scriptwriter for the Radio-Canada series "You-hou" provides an example of this relationship.[22]

> "We know that for children between the ages of two and five, the use of their bodies is of prime importance. It is by means of their bodies that they can express their feelings and emotions. By encouraging the tiny ones to play and to discover their bodies in different kinds of games, I believe sincerely that we are responding to one of their basic interests."

This suggests that material which is related to a child's cognitive, social and emotional development, material that tries to tie in to a child's personal or family or social experience, will stand a better chance of becoming an important and meaningful part of a child's life. To be sure, it will never be the only force. But it may contribute in some measure to the development of his attitudes, perceptions and behaviour.

Lastly, and perhaps not as obviously, the statement above has meaning for the context in which a program is viewed. Research has found that children are much influenced, in their own reactions, by the reactions of others viewing with them. Thus talking about a program, whether it is a family show or a children's series, can serve some important and useful functions. For many children, discussion can help to reduce any confusion, anxiety or fear that may have been created by a particular program. For others, it represents a rather uncommon sign of crediting their activities by a parent or older sibling. In this way, older children may be encouraged to develop their critical abilities, learning to respect their own judgments about the programs they view. In short, discussion during or after a television show can help integrate that show into a child's broader life experience. Programs that encourage this sort of discussion and integration contribute greatly to a child's understanding and awareness of television's place in his life.

3. <u>The observation of children watching television indicates that there are wide variations in their viewing styles. However, the style of viewing seems to be no guarantee of how much a child is absorbing from the program</u>.

Many children are able to view television for hours on end with their eyes rarely leaving the set. This appearance of total absorption seems to substantiate a popular belief about television, namely that it is a visual and passive medium requiring intense concentration and resulting in a hypnotic stupor.

Other children seem able to watch television while, at the same time, keeping track of all the interesting events around them. These may merely be children who are easily distracted. On the other hand, what appears as distractedness could in fact represent a capacity to monitor many events simultaneously.

Another common viewing style displays overt active physical and verbal participation in the television program. These children sing along with and beat time to the music, anticipate lines, reply to questions and talk to the televised characters. They scream in mock fright, cheer for the hero, imitate and role-play behaviour they have witnessed on the screen. Often, programs will encourage this kind of participation. "You-hou", a Radio-Canada program for children under 5 years of age, is aimed more at the 'tele-doer' rather than the 'tele-viewer'. A scriptwriter, Jacqueline Barrette, explains.[23]

> "The real cornerstone of the program is the participation of the children who are watching. We try to establish a direct communication between the children and the actors; this is why the latter ask questions and take the time to listen to the children's responses. They want nothing more than to see the children playing in their company."

Although many writers and hosts try to encourage participation by child-viewers, the evidence is not clear as to whether active participation, in fact, facilitates learning or the integration of program material. At the most, one can say that it ensures the child's orientation to the set and interrupts periods of physical passivity.

4. Each communication medium has its unique conventions of content and format. Television's conventions seem to have evolved without deliberate

design but operate strongly to expedite a viewer's understanding.

By their very nature, conventions are so commonplace that they rarely provoke comment unless they have been violated. For example, it is taken for granted that books written in English will be read from left to right, with lines read in descending order down the page. It is understood that ideas will be organized into paragraphs composed of sentences, each expressing a complete thought. Similarly, television has its own conventions of structure, format and content. Police shows regularly unfold as a steady stream of short, fast-paced, essentially self-contained segments culminating in a mandatory car chase and shoot-out between combatants. For their part, situation comedies lead us to anticipate great contests of verbal one-upmanship engaging a regular cast of characters who converge upon and withdraw from the household arena at frequent intervals. Even the techniques of television production rely on conventional operations. Through constant repetition, we have all become familiar with the meaning of swelling music, dramatic pauses, fade-outs, zoom-ins and freeze-frames, each in its own way communicating an event of some significance. For children especially, format cues can provide important prompting devices. The consistent use of a song or particular visual display is a technique that has traditionally been used to supply a setting for learning. In a more innovative vein, the producers of "Read-A-Long"[24] designed thought balloons that appeared in ten-second segments to teach new words; soon viewers learned that the appearance of the balloon itself was a signal to the learning of words.

By and large, the learning potential of common, and not-so-common, television conventions remains to be exploited. Can zoom-in-techniques teach a child to be more attentive to selected events on the screen? Can slow-motion help an impulsive child to develop a more reflective mental pace? It may be simplistic to expect direct effects upon a child's thinking, but it is probably worth finding out how visual and mental representations connect.

5. Observation of children watching television contains innumerable instances of specific modeling and learning simply by watching others.

Children frequently imitate the physical movements of televised characters. When Miss Betty of "Romper Room" flutters her fingers in imitation of falling leaves, many children sitting in their living-rooms copy her hand motions. When the hero of "Kung Fu" practises the martial arts once a week, children of all ages can be seen miming his actions and movements for many days to come. There is no shortage of examples as any casual reader of the literature on the effects of television can testify.

Modeling, of course, extends far beyond simple physical imitation. Effective verbal communication is also copied; certainly many examples come easily to mind: "Here come de judge" (Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In), "Would you believe..." (Get Smart), "Looking good" (Chico and The Man) - phrases that have entered the common vocabulary and stayed there for varying lengths of time.

The possibility of verbal imitation guided the "Sesame Street" group in many of their writing and production methods. Children were shown asking questions as a way of acquiring information, talking together until they solved a problem, or simply enjoying the feel and sound of words - all done in the expectation that televised verbal usage and behaviour would be imitated by the viewers. "Bobino", a Radio-Canada production has been on the air for over 20 years and incorporates the same objective. Guy Sanche who has been Bobino since 1956 explains his approach.[25]

> "...I don't make any concessions. The child is not an underdeveloped being and thus I never stoop to use baby talk or babyish words...I try to interest the child and stimulate him to do things all the while using language and expressions that are, from the very first, correct."

The main performer Bobino plays the role of an understanding and patient older brother rectifying his young sister's fanciful interpretation of

the world. In this role, Bobino is able to use repetition and explanation as he enlightens Bobinette (and their young audience) on any number of subjects. Through these conversations, viewers are exposed to the proper use of words and expressions. Mistakes are never punished nor even reprimanded. For example, Bobinette thinks she hears the words 'choux verts' (green cabbage) when Bobino is actually talking about Shubert. Patiently, Bobino corrects her and teaches her about the life and work of the composer. The instruction is subtle rather than didactic; the scripts of the program are interesting and educational without being heavyhanded.

However, observational learning does not require direct teaching in order to be effective. In fact, most of television's messages are indirect. On game shows, women often appear greedy and grasping. On family shows, good children are respectful and reverent, dogs are heroic and loyal, fathers are firm and lovable. The stereotypes abound and are transmitted indirectly through action and interaction. This means that what is intended to be (and often appears to be) a simple display of activities and relationships may in fact convey implicit attitudes that produce modeling on the part of the viewers. This also means that positive lessons of co-operation, obedience, self-control, courage and kindness can be communicated indirectly through the behaviour of the televised characters and woven into the entertainment fare that youngsters watch day after day.

6. Young children are readily distracted from the central content of a program and often respond to peripheral details. Thus, in communicating a message to a young child, the less "noise" masking the message, the better.

In many situations, young children have difficulty discriminating the essential from the irrelevant. It is only as a child matures that he becomes more capable of attending selectively to important features, picking out what matters in a confused situation and ignoring what does not.

Television can be designed to screen out irrelevancies, reducing the extraneous material (either visual or auditory) that may overwhelm a child and cause him to lose interest. A scriptwriter for "You-hou" gives one example.[26]

> "More than anything else, we try to respect the interests of the little ones and as much as possible to direct their attention to what is important. Thus the decor is deliberately simple, only the essential is retained."

But the pruning of irrelevance from material must be handled judiciously, especially as it is an editing function carried out by adults. What is incidental or irrelevant for an adult, and even for one child, may be of immense importance and value to another. In addition, there is always the possibility that material will be so stripped of non-essentials as to render it simply uninteresting to the young audience for which it was designed. This is especially true should the program be repeated. When children watch a show a second or even a third time, they seek new meanings, and sufficient embellishment is necessary to meet this need.

Obviously, care and discretion must be exercised in order to achieve a constructive balance between the two extremes; on the one hand, a necessary focus on central content and on the other, a display of non-essential but entertaining features.

7. Entertainment and education have often been regarded as being at odds with each other, each competing for the child's attention.

Many adults find it difficult to allow children full enjoyment of play situations. They believe, simply, that work is good and play is not. These feelings often extend to television, for adults and children alike realize that a large share of television is a form of play in the entertainment it provides. Thus television is criticized for not offering enough "wholesome" things. Adults would do well to recall the saying: "An hour of play discovers more than a year of conversation."[27] In fact, the contribution of television to children's lives could well be judged

by the quality of play it produces, both during and after the program.

Broadcasters tend to fall into the same trap in reverse, with their aversion stemming from being thought "educational". Their anxiety arises from the fact that they equate being educational with being dull. This only perpetuates an artificial division between education and entertainment - a division that is based neither in utility nor in reality. Robert Roy of Radio-Canada describes his network's approach to this problem.[28]

> "First, the program must be entertaining; it must get across the screen as a play must get across the footlights. But it must also allow the child an opportunity for self-enrichment. To do this, it is necessary for the program to transmit social and emotional values; values which derive not only from the milieu of francophone Québec but also from the North-American context in which the child lives."

In short, we must begin to acknowledge that entertainment need not (indeed can not) be devoid of educational value and that education, too, can be entertaining.

8. Understanding and learning are expedited by starting from experiences that are familiar to the child and then building and extending into new and unfamiliar material.

Under most circumstances, a child will learn new material most effectively if it builds upon something he already knows. The teaching experience of the creators of "Report Metric"[29] is a good example of this. They regularly use the child's familiarity with his real environment as a base from which to introduce the unfamiliar concepts of metric conversion. Furniture and appliances, ordinarily around the home, are measured to determine their length and height in metric units. Everyday grocery items are weighed and compared in cost to determine the best value per gram. Weather maps are employed as a means to present temperature forecasts in degrees celsius and wind velocity in kilometres per hour. These examples provide the child with something well-known and something concrete so that he can relate the new information to his own milieu. In

all these instances, a bridge was created from the familiar to the unfamiliar.

Using the familiar as a supporting context is an approach that can be extended far beyond the teaching of basic intellectual skills. Certain social attitudes can often be best displayed by choosing story-line situations that optimize immediate recognition and understanding. Robert Liebert and Rita Poulos[30] designed commercials for cooperative behaviour that were guided by this basic principle of learning. In one spot, called "The Swing", a boy and a girl about ten years of age are seen running across a field to reach a swing on a playground. They begin to struggle over it, each claiming first rights. After a moment during which battle seems inevitable, one of the youngsters produces the insight that they could take turns and each get a chance on the swing. The last seconds of the commercial show them doing just that, with the result that one child is soon joyfully swinging through the air with the help of the other. In this case, a clearly familiar situation both in setting and interaction has been used to promote a socially constructive behaviour.

9. <u>One of television's great powers is its capacity to add to a child's understanding and appreciation of himself, others and the world</u>.

From a very early age, children show an almost irrepressible curiosity (and desire to manipulate and explore) that extends beyond themselves and their immediate environment to the larger world around them. Television has the ability to feed the curiosity of children by displaying people, events and ideas that they have never encountered before and are unlikely ever to have the opportunity to confront in person. It can show children things they have never seen, sounds they have never heard, people and ideas they have not yet imagined. It can show them how things work, how other people use them, what goes on in the world and how to respond to it. The events need not be dramatic or exotic. Children are still trying to unravel and understand the ordinary, commonplace world as it is.

Program possibilities abound. Children can be taken on a bus ride around town, showing them places that are worth visiting and encouraging them to make further exploration. They can be taken visually to an automobile assembly plant, a fishing boat, a farm, a zoo, a post office and to many other places that they could never visit on their own. Expeditions to local sites of interest is only one dimension of "transportation" that television affords its viewers. Programs can transport children back into the past, dramatizing episodes in the careers of historical personages or developing story lines that re-create the life and time of ordinary people of centuries ago. It can transport children into foreign lands showing them some of the folklore, customs, family life, music, work and play of people in countries different from their own.

The possibilities of such exploration are great for few children have the opportunity to get thoroughly acquainted with the world at their doorstep. Through the resources at his command, the local broadcaster can open this world to a captive audience.

10. Music and sound effects on television can serve a remarkably wide range of functions demonstrating a child's ability to find meaning in many different musical forms and styles.

Music in films and television is often called 'background', and perhaps for some people, its primary function is to accompany action and dialogue. However, this need not always be the case. For many children (and adults), music can be the centrepiece of a production.

"Es-tu d'accord" is a musical show produced by Radio-Canada. Herbert Ruff (a composer for children's programs), plays a melody in the studio. About twenty children spread themselves out along an immense keyboard joined to an organ and play harmonies or invent parallel melodies. In another corner of the studio, children are invited to build rhythmic and melodic instruments. Weekly sessions are held so that the children's creations of words and music can be presented to the television and studio audience. Marcel Laplante, the producer, explains why he initiated such a program.[31]

> "No one listens any more. We are too noise-polluted. And most children have not woken up to the infinite possibilities of music. In my opinion, a children's program must first give the viewer a chance to develop his creative spirit, and the framework which best suits him, at present, is that of music."

When music is not the main element of a program (as in "Es-tu d'accord"), it may nevertheless play an important part in a children's show. The most obvious and frequent use of music on television is to regain a child's lost attention. Young children tend to watch the television screen only sporadically. Auditory cues, usually in the form of music or sound effects signal to them that an uninteresting sequence has ended and that a new episode or character is about to appear.

Music is also used to create emotional states such as tension or sadness or joy. Each musical form by itself can convey its meaning to young children, but when two or more forms are contrasted within an episode, their impact is heightened. Many examples come to mind. For instance, playful and whimsical music is often used to accompany the movements of young animals as they gambol in the woods. This can change abruptly to ominous and powerful tones as man, the hunter, enters the scene.

Music also provides a direct means of teaching basic skills. Almost any child can more easily sing the alphabet than recite it, and the learning of other sequenced materials, such as counting seems easier for young children when put in rhythmic and musical form. Sound effects, too, can function as a direct teaching device. For example, viewers can be taught to discriminate between different noises by associating sounds with familiar objects or animals such as car horns, police sirens or the moo of a cow.

One reason for music's impact on young children is that it evokes a great deal of physical participation. Children of all ages rock and sway to the rhythms that they hear, sing along with simple melodies and catchy lyrics. The bouncier the tune, the more intense the physical reaction until, with some songs, the child seems almost compelled to get

up and dance. However, children's attention can be lost if the music is associated with static visual material. Such a presentation apparently frustrates physical participation and violates the children's expectation that televised visual action will accompany what they hear.

11. For children, the repetition of televised material is an important and valued aspect of programming.

When the summer season of television re-runs begins to appear on the screen, one can almost hear a collective groan of anticipated boredom from the adult viewing population. Such is not the case with children. Observation of young viewers suggests that repetition of televised segments is a welcome addition to any children's program. The reappearance of a familiar character, episode or format provides the child with an opportunity to experience and explore the several facets of any television program. If the first viewing contained some surprise and more elements than the child could grasp on a single occasion, repetition permits the child to confront the grounds for his surprise and to sort out some of the complexities.

Older children, too, seem to like certain pieces of televised material better after they have seen them several times. This seems particularly true in two viewing situations: short films or animation that build up to a humorous or incongruous finale, and television segments that contain elements of jeopardy, especially if they involve the hero of the program. Repetition, in these cases, permits the child to anticipate each development in turn looking forward to the humorous outcome or the resolution of the plot with the safety of knowing what will occur after the episode has been followed through its earlier steps.

As important as exact repetition, but serving different purposes, is repetition that includes a variation of either format or content. If the content is kept constant while changing the format, a child will be able to generalize what he has learned across several different forms of appearance. For example, on "Read-A-Long", the recognition of a word may

be the subject of a number of segments using live characters or puppets or animation techniques. Sometimes the word is flashed on the screen, sometimes it is expanded letter by letter to aid in phonetic pronunciation. But always it retains its distinctive features as a word despite its different surroundings. Another variation in repetition keeps the format constant while varying the content. In this case, the repetition has a two-fold function, namely to teach television conventions that facilitate comprehension, and to provide a bridge from familiar to new and unfamiliar concepts.

As with most production methods, the use of repetition has its limitations and must be employed judiciously. For example, observation suggests that most children lose interest rapidly in repeated showings of segments that are slow paced or drawn our in length.

12. Children will direct their attention to what surprises them, to an image or event that violates their established expectations about the order of the world.

Television provides many ways of confronting children with surprises and incongruity. One of the most appealing devices for children is the pixilation technique that produces a kind of fast-action, speeded-up comic movement. Playing videotape backwards also provides strange and unexpected visual experiences - a ball kicked with all one's might is suddenly stopped in mid-air and then magically returns to its original position. Slow-motion shows people and objects moving at unaccustomed speeds and close-up shots reveal unanticipated properties of common objects. Children focus upon these images because they pose a puzzle that must be unravelled in order to re-establish a sense of order and regularity. Few people can let such violations of expectation rest without working hard to resolve them.

Camera and editing techniques are not the only ways to bring surprise to the viewing child. One of the most pleasing novelties for children is to observe adults making errors that children can easily identify,

for example, the character who consistently omits a letter while reciting the alphabet or leaves out a number while counting up to ten. Here the surprise and incongruity are augmented by the special appeal to the child in realizing that, for once, he knows more than adults know. As usual, there are cautions to be observed in using this 'one-up-on-adults' approach. Too often, adults only feign ignorance in order to bait or trick a child. However, if ignorance is actually built-in to the televised character, children will not regard the errors as a false and contrived manoeuvre.

13. Content analysis of television programs and observation of children's reactions suggest that not many programs can be labelled either pure fantasy or pure reality. In fact, one characteristic of television programming is its ability to dwell in both kingdoms at once.

Fantasy and reality are terms that have been much bandied about with respect to children's perception of and reaction to television programs. Perhaps it is important at the outset to make clear that we are talking about two separate matters - a distinction that must be made in order to avoid confusion. On the one hand, there is the question of a child's assessment of a program's content, that is, whether he believes the characters and situations to be real or fictional. Consider, for example the program "The Friendly Giant". Any adult, viewing the fairyland setting, the scale of the set and props, and the talking animal puppets would label it fantasy. To the young child, it is real because it is possible. In contrast, the so-called reality of the television documentary seems illusory because a child's limited experience makes it impossible for him to conceive the events portrayed. In truth, little is known about the mental growth that must be occuring as a child slowly begins to discriminate the real from the fictional. Television producers can facilitate this growth process by adopting conventions which act as a signal for fantasy or reality. Various cues are possible -- from musical themes to special props to animated versus live material.

The second aspect of the reality and fantasy question concerns the effect upon the child of viewing televised material, that is, whether the program's

content triggers a flight of imagination or whether it affects a child's attitudes, perceptions and behaviour in reality. Of course both possibilities exist and each reaction could be stimulated by either a television "fantasy" or a television "reality". For example, a realistic program such as a documentary, an entertainment show such as a quiz game, a fantasy program such as a cartoon can all generate an escape into reverie, a period of time when the child uses fantasy to fulfill his wishes, to find solutions to his problems and generally, to "get away from it all" when his environment imposes a strain on him.

Similarly, these very same programs implicitly contain elements of reality. Even when the characters are unreal, dressed in exotic costumes and located in fantastic settings, nevertheless, the way in which they deal with one another, the objectives for which they strive, and the means which they employ all carry lessons of reality, lessons of reality that a child learns, integrates, and often emulates.

"Bim et Sol", a program produced by Radio-Canada is a good example of this. Sol, an awkward clown appears unable to cope in most situations. His ragged clothes fit him badly and cause him to stumble. He seems to blunder through every conversation. He is frequently confused and uses things (with great care) in an absolutely absurd manner. All this conspires to draw upon the sympathy of the child viewer. In contrast, Bim is clever, creative, self-assured, educated, playing the sensible counterpart to Sol's absurdity. However, the friendly relationship between the two main characters allows them to present messages of unselfishness, patience and cooperation in a setting that is, at once, fantastic and all too familiar.

There is still a great deal about fantasy and reality that we don't know. They are extremely complex and multi-faceted concepts that touch the deepest recesses of our minds. As we learn more about a child's relationship with the television set, we will begin to understand better his perception of and reaction to televised fantasy and reality.

14. Children direct their attention to visual action on television, generally ignoring whatever is not functionally related to that action.

Action is a key ingredient in children's television, and it assumes many forms and styles. For young children, almost anything can become part of the dramatic action on the screen. For example, in certain segments of "Sesame Street", animated alphabet letters engage directly in the visual events instead of simply being imposed upon them as stationary bystanders. Characters try to sit on the letters, eat them, catch them and fight them - in short, turning them into an essential part of the action and inevitably drawing the children's attention.

Another form of action in programming takes place in the story-lines of adventure series for older children, programs such as the "Beachcombers", "Walt Disney" and "Rainbow Country". More often than not, these kinds of programs combine many elements of appeal, including child performers, heroic animals and situations of jeopardy and suspense. For many children, they provide a valuable alternative to the narrow range of animated cartoons and comedy-variety formats that make up most of the children's television schedule.

A third and common use of action occurs in the style of a program, namely, the pace of activity within a segment or the program as a whole. In general, children seem to prefer rapidly-paced material, but the appeal of any single segment seems to be tied closely to the contrast it creates with the pace and mood of the segment immediately preceding or following; interest is higher if the segment looks, sounds and feels different. In other words, the observation that visual action appeals to children need not mean that the action must always be rapid or frenetic to be effective; instead its pace should be varied.

Just as visual action is almost always appealing, so children almost always ignore certain forms of televised inaction. Most common is the "message monologue", where a single character (usually adult) appears on the screen, faces the camera and begins to talk at great length. At

these times, children just stop watching, even when the talking character is a cartoon hero, favourite puppet or circus clown. Such segments remain heavily laden with words that are not integrated into any visual activity and, thus, cannot hold the child's attention. Similar inaction appears on programs intended for children when the adult hosts spend some of their time talking and joking with each other for their own amusement. These verbal exchanges between adults ignore and exclude children who respond with an appropriate lack of attention.

15. Humour is an obvious and appealing device for holding attention.

The sources of televised humour are almost infinite. For young children, the most popular form of comedy is perhaps the most criticized: zany, slapstick comedy that often involves one person harming himself or another person. However, observation of young children suggests that their love of slapstick lies not in the elements of harm but rather in the incongruity, surprise and force that all slapstick contains. They laugh when the chef on "Sesame Street" trips down the stairs (his cakes and pies flying in all directions), when "Fred Flintstone" falls on his head, when the bumbling agent of "Get Smart" outwits his enemies and when the "Roadrunner" foils the best-laid plans of the coyote.

In contrast, older children smile and laugh more in response to verbal humour than visual comedy. They enjoy many kinds of verbal gags: punch lines, verbal twists, puns, overstatement and understatement and seem to react to the humour regardless of the character speaking the line or the line's precise context.

Children also find amusement in the incongruity of adults making errors and in the personal idiosyncracies of televised characters. Their enjoyment derives not only from the ridiculousness of the situation but also from the suspense of waiting for the incongruous to occur, the disaster to happen, and the absurdity to be voiced.

Although the sources and forms of televised humour seem great in number,

its success is probably as much a matter of individual taste in children as it is in adults. This would seem to call for observation and research on humorous segments in order to ensure their effectiveness.

16. Attention is generally higher for animated segments.

Children, from a very early age, show a decided preference for cartoons and animation. This finding is not as simple to interpret as one would think. So many other variables related to attention are included in most cartoons that it is difficult to assess the effect of animation as a particular method of depiction. In addition, the quality of animation has so declined in recent years, that it is difficult to attribute its success to its particular style. Most of the cartoons now produced for television use a form of limited animation, where only the eyes and mouths of the characters move. This is much less expensive and quicker to produce than the full animation used in older cartoons.

To what then can we ascribe the effectiveness and success of animated material? In part, its appeal seems to lie in the simple design of the images, the exaggerated features of the characters and the magical quality of the action. Children of all ages enjoy the movement, with or without a story-line. The graphics, when combined with music, provide short, direct, visual and non-verbal experiences, well-suited to a limited attention span. But, perhaps more importantly, animation is preferred by children because of its capacity to display the surprising and create the impossible:

> "In animation, anything can turn magically into anything else, the children love it for the illogic that is a visual equivalent of their nursery rhymes and jingles and word games"[32]

Certain techniques of animation exert their magic, not only on human or animal characters, but on abstract symbols, giving them life and movement and permitting them to become part of the dramatic action. For example, the creators of "The Flintsones" regularly produce program segments involving the animation of traditionally inanimate objects. In a typical

episode, Fred Flintstone is shown as the operator of an earth-moving "machine" which in the pseudo-stoneage setting is characterized by a benign dinosaur. Pushed beyond its limit, this machine-dinosaur periodically comes to life, swivels its shovel-head and crane-neck around, bucks up its rear-end cab and sends Fred sprawling to the ground below. By the time Fred has finished dusting off his pants, the earth-mover has retained its composure and convincing machine-like form. Movement, humour, incongruity and fantasy have all been combined in one short animated segment.

17. The use of children in the production of children's programming: child performers or child stars?

Several studies[33] seem to suggest that school-age children like to see other children on the screen, especially in programs involving dramatic action and adventure. Certainly, the popularity of programs such as "Lassie", "The Brady Bunch", and "The Partridge Family" bear this finding out. Nevertheless, the employment of child actors, either as program hosts or as regular characters in a weekly series, has been a contentious issue for many years. Obviously, there are points to be made for both sides of the question.

The young viewer is likely to have a rather complex and therefore ambivalent relationship to children who are shown on camera. Should he want to identify with their attitudes and behaviour, then the child performers need to look and behave like real children rather than too-good-to-be-true professional actors. On the other hand, research has shown that young audiences are impatient with and intolerant of child performers who fail to reach anticipated standards of excellence.

Directors, too, are ambivalent about the use of children. While they feel the need to control what their performers are saying and doing (especially as children are prone to mugging for the camera), at the same time they realize that they must encourage the children to behave in a natural and spontaneous way.

Another difficulty with child performers may arise in their working relationship with other members of the cast. For example, there is always the possibility that an adult performer or host will begin to "play" to the children on camera rather than to the audience at home. This is a tendency that needs to be avoided as it inhibits the involvement and participation of viewing children who want to project themselves into the activity on the screen.

In short, the issue of child performers cannot really be resolved one way or the other in general terms. It is necessary however, to be aware of the pros and cons of the question for any particular program that a producer may have in mind. This is, perhaps, the crux of the matter, namely, that the talent is not as important so much as the use to which it is put.

One program which seemed to combine successfully the use of children both as performers and participants was a Radio-Canada production entitled "Téléchrome".[34] During the first season of 1971, three youngsters in the studio painted designs suggested by viewers over the telephone. Sometimes a 'sound picture' was created. Music would be played on the air and children would phone in their visual creations to match the chosen musical phrases. The producer of "Téléchrome", James Dormeyer, explains the reasons for this innovative 'direct' television experiment.

> "I wanted to feel the presence of the public for whom I worked, but which is often only perceived through statistics. I wanted this public to be active, to break the tradition of child viewers overwhelmed in front of the television, half asleep because the show which they were watching didn't offer them any chance of participating. It would have to be a direct contact, by telephone, which could allow those who were far away to influence what was going on in the studio and to see on the television screen the results of their request and their participation.
>
> Too often, creativity is seen as coming from a privileged and gifted elite, and too often, it is all one-way, from the creator to the viewer...Allowing the viewer to witness the process of creation

> is the best stimulus there is. The program, apart from its structure, only existed through participation."

In it's second season, more precise objectives were attempted. For example, a group of youngsters would arrive at the studio with their illustrations for the beginning of an original story. Viewers were encouraged to phone in their ideas as to how the story should be continued both in words and pictures. Finally, the story would be completed by the same group which had started it and the finished product would be shown, in its entirety, on the next program. The third season of "Téléchrome" operated on much the same basis except that more importance was given to the creation of animated drawings.

James Dormeyer believes that a program such as "Téléchrome" is ideally suited to local and small broadcasting stations.

> "I would like to stress the opportunity that small stations have to do productions of this sort. This kind of show requires a very low budget since everything depends on participation and direct telephone communication. I would even say that this type of program is more suitable to a small audience than to a vast network. It's a little like a game that can be played best amongst friends or acquaintances...
>
> I think more producers should lean towards productions of this type, based on mutual communication and the use of television as a tool. They should try to abandon some of the more traditional visual forms not in order to completely eliminate cinematic television, but in order to save money; to put more of their budget, in these times of austerity and cutbacks, into productions that aren't made with such a high financial investment."

18. Research has shown that school-age children generally prefer the following program elements: animation, fantasy, comedy, jeopardy and music.

There is a wide consensus amongst Canadian writers and producers that school-age children are a difficult group for which to program. Certainly,

many parents have expressed the concern that their older children are not being adequately served by Canadian broadcasts.

Recently, there has been some attempt on the part of researchers and programmers to determine programming elements which school-age children find particularly appealing. Their results, using a variety of methods, show that older children prefer programs which include animation, fantasy, comedy, jeopardy and music.

A description of several of the studies lends substance to these claims. (a) Lawrence H. Streicher and Norman Bonney[35] interviewed groups of children ranging in age from six to twelve years. The groups generally involved four or five persons of the same sex and age so that a relaxed, informal atmosphere was established in which the children felt free to talk.

> "At all ages, boys said that they liked cartoons more often than did girls; for all but the oldest boys, cartoons were a clear favorite over other types of programs. For both boys and girls, the popularity of cartoons decreased as they became older. Corresponding to this decline of preference for cartoons, there was an increase in mentions of adult-drama programs as favorites...
>
> Comical and lighthearted programs predominated among the preferred choices...The mention of a character or specific incident often led to hilarity and trading of jokes and incidents...
>
> The other major category of programs that appealed to both sexes was mystery-suspense-drama...These programs were a source of considerable interest and fascination. In general, it was action and comedy that the children said they liked."

(b) In a somewhat different study, Susan Prueter and W.G. Fleming[36] undertook an evaluation of several television series produced by the Ontario Educational Communications Authority. Six different school systems participated in the evaluation procedure.

One series was designed for kindergarten and primary age children.

Interviews were carried out with the participating classes, in as many cases as possible both during and after the viewing period.

> "The most effective programs were characterized by concrete themes, abundant visual illustration, fast-moving action, and amusing gimmicks. By the same token, excessive verbalization and inadequate illustration characterized the least effective. The songs, sung in English, were most successful..."

A second series had a target audience of children between the ages of seven and eleven. Each child responded to a single questionnaire relating to various aspects of the programs viewed.

> "The children were obviously most favourably impressed by action, adventure, suspense and humour and inclined to be impatient with long explanations. They were quick to spot anything that seemed overdone, unnatural or phony..."

(c) Clive VanderBurgh[37], undertook some preliminary research to determine the needs and likes on television of children between six and eight years of age. He visited schools in different areas of Toronto, varying in income level, type of housing, location and ethnic composition. Some classes were reasonably traditional while others were of a more experimental nature.

> "Surprisingly enough, the viewing habits and wants and needs of the children appeared to be quite similar between the classes...
>
> Children were interested in dinosaurs, mystery, ghosts, adventures, animals, humour, riddles and cartoons. Their favourite television programs tended to be either cartoons or situation comedies originally produced for adults...
>
> Children were not interested in seeing children their own age, other than themselves, on television and suggested that if a program were to have a host, the host should be between 20 and 30 years old...

(d) Lastly, research was conducted for a proposed children's program produced by O.E.C.A.[38] In an initial research effort, program offerings

were analyzed and classified according to purpose, format and target group. However, the core of the research involved a survey of parents, teachers and children in order to assess stated needs for programming for children. The children's structured interview included both common and specific sections so that the four different age groups (6, 8, 10 and 12 year-olds) could complete the questionnaire successfully. A total sample size of 100 was obtained.

"1. Review of Programs

> In short, the regular E.T.V. programs broadcast for elementary school age Canadian children in the Toronto area were generally segmented, magazine format programs mixed with episodic time capsule adventures and story telling. Fantasy rather than reality programming was generally more prevalent...
>
> Several American programs used the "sit-com" format to explore family relationships...Their great popularity indicates the degree to which family adventure and involvement can capture children - especially in the 9-12 range...Almost all of these shows feature a plot/adventure theme, and, though divorced from much reality, are close enough in approximation to provide a potential model for exploring themes of personal, social and community relationships, conflicts and emotions...

4. Children's Structured Interview

> There was no unanimity of choice of programs but the commercial cartoon offerings were the most named by all children...Older respondents (indicated) strong support for sit-com programs and for children involved in dramatic action--preferably from home where they would get into and out of trouble...
>
> Plenty of action was easily the critical ingredient of children's shows and "good stories" was next choice."

All this research indicates, as has been pointed out many times in previous sections, that simple analysis, discussion and questionning can provide producers with a wealth of information regarding the likes and

dislikes of children and television. Given the difficulties and challenges of programming for school-age children, it would seem necessary, logical and productive to learn in advance about the television tastes of this group.

19. Children are accustomed to watching television that is expensively produced, well acted and of high quality in visual appearance and form.

No matter what we may think of the television programs to which children are exposed, a lot of money is spent to produce them. All types of programming, from situation comedies to police shows, use skilful professional actors, attractive and realistic settings and a variety of camera techniques. Many television commercials, through their use of appealing music, sound effects and visual gimmicks, compare favourably with the production standards of prime-time programming.

This has serious implications for the production of programs for children. Put simply, it suggests that children are likely to bring with them to the television set certain expectations about the 'right' look, sound and feel of television programming, expectations that good intentions alone will not satisfy. Robert Roy of Radio-Canada comments.[39]

> "If you remember that a child spends, on the average, 20 hours a week in front of the television set, then it is important that the service we offer doesn't lessen in quantity or quality. There must be a lot of television offered to the child to prevent him from watching shows aimed at an adult audience."

This means that if we are going to attract young viewers to programs especially made for them, then we must be prepared to spend large amounts of money -- for the creative personnel, the performing talent, the competent support staff, the technical equipment, the artistic, photographic and music supplies -- all necessary to make high-quality professional productions on a regular and on-going basis.

Of course, there are bound to be exceptions to this sweeping declaration.

It occasionally happens that some very dedicated people make a beautiful show on very little money. "Téléchrome" is one example. Arthur Weinthal, Vice-President of Entertainment Programming at CTV, gives a description of another.[40]

> "I saw a show in Los Angeles which was the standard set puppet show...a guy standing with two little puppets, a spider and a bird, and the kind of set you've seen a hundred times...And this chap was talking to the spider that came down from the tree and perched on his shoulder...
>
> The entire half-hour show was the guy talking to the spider about a friend who was going away for the summer and about people who go away and leave you. And where have they gone, and what are they doing and how do you feel about it, and so on.
>
> It was...a very inexpensive, an incredibly inexpensive show, but there was an energetic and imaginative mind working on it...And there was intelligence, there was sensitivity and native wisdom about the performer that made the thing work."

Naturally, money isn't everything. Programming for children must also be a labour of love, of caring for children, of showing genuine affection and interest in their lives. And perhaps most importantly, programming for children must be given the recognition and status it deserves. Unless these programs become a continuing interest of the station management, the task of producing children's programs will be a mere stop-over place for people seeking more profitable and prestigious assignments.

> "When children are accorded equal status by management, a craft of producing programs for them will emerge, for like teaching, there are people with special talents who will make a career - given the opportunity - of working in this particular field. With such talents at the broadcaster's disposal, supported by his cumulative technical skill and a reasoned philosophy of programming for children, we can expect the fulfillment of many values: of quality of production, of esthetics, of imagination, of content, and conviction. Until that time, it is hoped that the ideas of the producers reported in this booklet will be of some worth to other producers laboring under less sublime conditions."[41]

FOOTNOTES

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3. J.D. Halloran, quoted in a letter to J. Soloviov, Canadian Children's TV: A Sample Survey (Toronto: Children's Broadcast Institute, 1974), p.99

4. J.G. Cooney, foreward to Children and Television: Lessons from Sesame Street, p. xvi

5. J. Nostbakken and D. Nostbakken, "Kidstuff": A General Inquiry into Program Appeal, prepared for the CTV Television Network Ltd., Toronto, 1975. p. 2

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8. E.L. Palmer, "Formative Research in the Production of Television for Children", in Media and Symbols: The Forms of Expression, Communication and Education (Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education, 1974), pp. 303-329

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10. M. Maurizi, A. Zuckernick and Dr. K.G. O'Bryan, Monkey Bars Research Report, prepared for the Ontario Educational Communications Authority, Toronto, 1974. p. 5

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13. Nostbakken, Bushe, Raices and Zuckernick, p. 14

14. Dr. G.H. McLaughlin, Evaluation of the Pilot Program from the series "CUCUMBER" and Zachariah Gibson's Magic Trunk, prepared for the Ontario Educational Communications Authority, Toronto, 1974. appendix D

15. Maurizi and Zuckernick, pp. 53-55

16. Nostbakken and Nostbakken, p. 59

17. M.E. Goldberg, G.J. Gorn and R.N. Kanungo, Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Canadian Inserts into Sesame Street, prepared for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Montreal, 1974

18. R. Roy in discussion with Michèle Baril

19. M. Falardeau in discussion with Michèle Baril

20. Lesser, pp. 98-99

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23. J. Barrette, quoted in Ici Radio-Canada (February, 1975): 16

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25. G. Sanche, quoted in Ici Radio-Canada (September, 1976): 8

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29. H. Inkster and J. Leslie, Evaluation of Report Metric, prepared for the Ontario Educational Communications Authority, Toronto, 1975

30. R. Poulos, R.M. Liebert and N. Schwartzberg, Television's Prosocial Influence: Designing Commercials for Cooperative Behavior, paper presented at the 83rd Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, 1975

31. M. Laplante, in discussion with Michèle Baril

32. P. Kael, quoted in Lesser, p. 112

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34. J. Dormeyer, p. 9

35. L.H. Streicher and N.L. Benney, "Children Talk about Television", Journal of Communication 24 (1974): 56-57

36. S. Prueter and W.G. Fleming, Evaluation of Five Educational Television Program Series Produced by OECA, 1972-73, prepared for the Ontario Educational Communications Authority, Toronto, 1974. pp. 51; 80

37. VanderBurgh, p. 14

38. Agency for Tele-Education in Canada, Summary of Research Conducted on a Proposed Children's Program, Alberta, 1976. pp. 5-8; 13-14

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